

APRIL 1954

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

Torch: U.S. (Texas actually); Latin Forum in Florida; Counselling for College; William and Mary Institute; Foreign Language Teaching, University of Kentucky; Pupils' Tape Recording (by Lois Ellis, Princeton, N. J. pupil); Classical Conference at Iowa City; What Shall We Read? Objectives: Vitruvius; King and Queen of Greece visit Williamsburg

Dicenda Tacenda

Program, Classical Association of the Middle West and South

Style in *De Bello Civilis*

The *Fabulae Palliatae* and the Spread of Hellenism

"We See by the Papers"

Democritus and Heraclitus

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A Modern Parallel

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Conflict

The large-scale conference of the University of Kentucky on the teaching of foreign languages, despite the best efforts on both sides to avoid this, will be held April 22-4, the same dates as those of the CAMWS meeting. We wish the energetic Director, our friend Professor Skiles (whose first name is omitted tactfully), all success in this; but are hampered by the circumstances from urging attendance there strenuously. Those who would like to attend both gatherings will have to make their own proper choice. Elsewhere here appears a description of the Kentucky organization.

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SUBSCRIPTIONS

The general subscription price is \$3.75 (USA), \$4.00 (foreign). Single copies 60c (USA), 65c (foreign); subscriptions for less than a year at the single copy rate. Teachers and other interested individuals may subscribe through one of the regional associations below, annual membership-subscription rate, \$3.75. Members may subscribe also to the CLASSICAL OUTLOOK and CLASSICAL WEEKLY; for rates consult the regional secretary-treasurer. Members of CAMWS and CAAS have the option of receiving either the CLASSICAL JOURNAL or CLASSICAL WEEKLY (published by CAAS).

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OBJECTIVES: VITRUVIUS

In addressing the language teachers of Kentucky, Sybil Stonecipher, Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green, reminded them that the planners of any new educational program can not find a more effective statement of objectives than these lines of Vitruvius. (De Arch. 6.102):

We should make available for our children chattel and journey provisions of such sort as can escape with them even from shipwreck. For the safeguards to life are goods which neither hostile fortune's storm can harm, nor change of government, nor destructiveness of war.

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THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

Edited by Grace L. Beede

TORCH: U.S.

A salute to TORCH:U.S., official national publication of the Junior Classical League, published by Henderson (Texas) H.S., and now in its Vol. III, with this stated primary objective: "to encourage among the young people of our country an interest in and appreciation of the civilization, language, literature and art of ancient Greece and Rome, and to give them some understanding of the debt of our own culture to that of classical antiquity." The twenty pages of the January number carry many pictures of club officers and activities across the country and contain 126 reports from 37 states, in addition to numerous articles and announcements. We wish that every educator and editor in the country might see this stirring evidence that the life-stream of Latin is running strong and vigorous across these United States of America. And as this word of congratulation and appreciation goes to press in February, we would nominate Martha Matthews of Henderson High School, charming editor of TORCH:U.S. and symbol of the devoted Latin students and their teachers and sponsors throughout the country, as "Sweetheart of the Classics, 1954."

LATIN FORUM IN FLORIDA

"Romani Hodierni" in Florida on March 27! The sixth annual Latin Forum will be held in Daytona Beach at that time. This organization has grown by leaps and bounds during its short life.

The history is brief but amazing. In 1948 some school teachers met with the heads of the Classics Department of the Florida State University in Tallahassee for the purpose of gleaning ideas for Latin Week. This Department thought that other teachers might be interested, so issued an invitation to Forum on March 5, 1949. There were 16 teachers and 410 students from 13 schools from all sections of the state who attended. This meeting so successfully met a real need in the field of Latin that it was decided to have a Latin Forum every year, meeting at different places in the state.

The second Forum was held in Lakeland

(1950), the third in Tampa (1951), the fourth at Florida State University (1952), and the fifth in Bradenton (1953) with an attendance of approximately 1,000.

The programs, both instructive and entertaining, are conducted by students, with only student participation. All phases of Roman life and people are typified. The programs consist of skits presented by different schools; orations; radio quiz on mythology; translations at four grade levels. The winner of each is awarded a cup or medal.

This Latin Forum is worth its weight in gold in the increased interest in Latin throughout the schools and state. We feel that it is a MUST.

A Latin Bulletin is published quarterly by Florida State University in the interest of Latin teachers in the state and a copy is sent to every teacher of Latin in Florida. This Bulletin gives the highlights of Latin groups in the state; available aids, such as audio-visual and books; calendar of classical events; service bureau suggestions; film strips, slides, and recordings, as well as many other worthwhile notes for teachers.

COUNSELLING FOR COLLEGE

As Margaret Forbes, U. of Minnesota, reminded readers of the December *Minnesota Latin News-Letter*, now is the time for high school teachers to begin talking to their juniors and seniors about taking foreign languages in college. "With the increased interest in foreign language additions to the elementary and junior high school programs, aroused by last year's Washington conference, the shortage of qualified Latin and modern language teachers grows daily more acute. Send for college catalogs yourselves, in order to point out the advantages of a college plan including foreign language." The service high school teachers can render in this area cannot be exaggerated. And for the proven success of such endeavors, recall the solid results of Lillian Gay Berry's repeated invitation to every high school Latin teacher in Indiana, "Send at least one of your Latin students on to college Latin next year."

INSTITUTE ON THE TEACHING OF LATIN

College of William and Mary

The sixteenth Institute on the Teaching of Latin, established at the College of William and Mary in 1936, will be conducted for three weeks during the 1954 Summer Session, June 28 - July 17, under the direction of its founder, Prof. A. Pelzer Wagener. The program will conform in general to that carried on so successfully in previous summers. The morning hours will be devoted to lectures, discussions, and drill upon the philosophy of curriculum construction, the selection and organization of materials, classroom procedures including the role of activities, the application of basic linguistic principles to methods of instruction, the oral use of Latin, direct comprehension of reading, and related topics. Accompanying these will be observation of a demonstration class in first-year Latin. Two hours each afternoon will be given over to a workshop devoted to the practical application of principles in the construction of teaching units according to the plan presented by the *Course of Study in Latin for the High Schools of Virginia*. Special attention will be paid this summer to training in the operation of recording and projection equipment; to the examination and production of audio-visual materials such as tapes, discs, and slides; to developing procedures for their use by teachers and pupils; and to formulating methods for the inclusion of such materials as integral elements in instruction. During each week there will be an evening lecture upon some topic of general archaeological or literary interest, and a meeting for round-table discussion. Credit of four semester hours will be allowed for the successful completion of the full work of the Institute.

FACULTY

Anthony Pelzer Wagener, Ph.D., Director.
Professor of Ancient Languages.

George J. Ryan, Ph.D. Professor of Ancient Languages.

Clara W. Ashley, A.B. Teacher of Latin, Newton High School, Massachusetts; Carnegie Fellow, Workshop in the Teaching of Latin, University of Michigan, Summers of 1952 and 1953.

A special BULLETIN describing the Institute in detail may be secured by addressing Dr. A. Pelzer Wagener.

COURSES OFFERED

Roman Civilization and Its Legacy as a Basis for Curriculum Construction

A review and analysis of curriculum procedures, based primarily upon the *Course of Study in Latin for the High Schools of Virginia*. Includes the philosophy of curriculum construction, organization through "Themes" and "Topics," the correlation of a mastery of the elements of language with an understanding of Roman culture and its legacy, the selection of reading and supplementary materials, the role of activities in instruction, and correlation with other fields of study in a basic general curriculum.

Workshop and Laboratory

Supervised work in the Latin laboratory upon the selection and organization of Latin and English materials; the preparation of units of work, study plans, drill exercises, and tests; development of activities; the operation and use of recording and projection equipment; the selection and production of audio-visual materials and their inclusion in classroom procedures. The work will be carried on in small groups and will be planned on the basis of particular needs and interests in order to assist in solving teaching problems.

Techniques of Latin Instruction

Lectures and discussions upon procedures for planning, organizing, and conducting classroom instruction; together with observation of their application in a demonstration class, to be followed by an informal guided critique.

The Reading and Oral Use of Latin

Discussion of basic linguistic principles applicable to the mastery of the elements of the Latin language and of procedures for their use; of the function of oral Latin in instruction; and of the direct method of reading for comprehension. Drill in the use of oral Latin and in reading procedures. The basis of instruction will be simple Latin, suitable for use in elementary highschool classes. Practice in tape and disk recording, and in the use of such materials in instruction will be provided in the afternoon workshop.*

FEES, HOUSING

Fees: \$20 for Virginia teachers; \$42 for out-of-state teachers. Comfortable quarters are available in the excellent women's dormitories on the campus.

* Courses in Elementary Greek and in "Greek Civilization and Its Legacy" will also be offered during the Summer Session of the College.

SOLUTIONS FOR PROBLEMS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

The Education Conference of Kentucky, 1953,^{*} was concerned with "An Effective Education Program in Kentucky." In the area of foreign language teaching, the problems were ably and succinctly reviewed by Sybil Stonecipher of Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green; the Rt. Rev. Msgr. F. N. Pitt, secretary of the Catholic School Board, Archdiocese of Louisville; and Jonah W. D. Skiles, head of the department of Ancient Languages, University of Kentucky. Eight high school, college, and Latin School teachers and administrative officers presented some of the possible solutions to the problems raised. The following concluded the remarks of Zelma F. Weaver, instructor, Dunbar H.S., Lexington:

1. Introduce foreign languages in the elementary grades not as separate courses but as tools for teaching other academic subjects.
2. Teachers of foreign languages should have, and should make use of, short wave radios and television sets during a French Laboratory period.
3. There should be more cooperation between teachers of music, art, and dance and the language teacher.
4. Stop feeling that foreign language is the "ugly duckling" of the curriculum and must always justify its existence. Seldom do we hear of the teachers of algebra, geometry, or of social sciences justifying the teaching of their subjects.
5. Make your courses enjoyable and interesting so that the pupils' time spent in your classroom will be memorable and profitable experience to both you and them, and others will make a beaten path to your door.
6. Do not expect language specialists. How many persons today have mastered English although it is required, so to speak, from the cradle to the grave? Incidentally, should teachers of English reside at least one year in England so as to learn to speak English as fluently as it is spoken there?
7. There should be more workshops offered at the beginning of the school term and teachers should be required to attend.
8. Whenever students show special language ability and they plan to enter college, teachers should encourage them to continue their language courses.

* Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, Vol. XXV, No. 3, College of Education, University of Kentucky, carries the complete text of all of these splendid discussions.

PUPILS' TAPE RECORDING

Richard Almond and William Lockwood, third year Latin students at Princeton (N.J.) High School, recently presented to the advanced Latin classes a project in the form of an original tape recording based on the radio program, "You Are There." The program takes you back to Rome in 63 B.C., to the temple of Jupiter Stator where Cicero is preparing to deliver his first oration against Catiline. The scene opens in a booth above the main room of the temple, where a newscaster is giving the listening audience a description of the senators as they enter the meeting.

You are then taken to the rostrum, where Cicero is commencing to deliver his oration. The exactness of the translation of the oration and the manner in which it is delivered are quite fascinating. When Cicero is granted a brief intermission, the newscaster roves among the noted senators, who are enjoying hotdogs and soda pop, to ask their opinions on this assembly.

Cicero returns to the rostrum, and you are brought back to the radio station where you are given an account of the outcome of Cicero's orations against Catiline.

Richard and Bill accomplished this feat entirely by themselves. By change of voices they characterized at least ten persons, by their technical ability they managed to have appropriate and well-timed sound effects, by their originality and sense of humor they produced a lightness that held the interest of their audience. The project as a whole helped the students to appreciate the fact that "Latin is only as dead as the persons who study it."

Lois ELLIS (pupil)

Princeton (N.J.) H.S.

CLASSICAL CONFERENCE: IOWA CITY

The Classical Conference at the University of Iowa will be held on April 30 - May 1, under the chairmanship of Professor Oscar E. Nybakken. The speakers include Professors Henry Rowell of Johns Hopkins, William Korfmacher of St. Louis University, and W. L. Carr of the University of Kentucky. The afternoon discussion will be on the subject, "Opportunities of Professional Growth for Teachers of Latin." Panel members will be: Professors Quale of Luther College, McKibben of Grinnell College, McCracken of Drake University, Carr and Else.

KING AND QUEEN OF GREECE
VISIT WILLIAMSBURG

King Paul and Queen Frederika of Greece honored Williamsburg and the College of William and Mary last November 22 by visiting the city and college, where they were welcomed by a short but impressive exercise in the Chapel of the Sir Christopher Wren Building, oldest academic building in the United States. After referring to the enduring classical traditions of the college, President Chandler introduced to their majesties Dr. George J. Ryan, Professor of Ancient Languages in charge of Greek courses, who read from a parchment scroll executed in color and signed by four members of the faculty and eighty-two students of the Greek classes. The scroll, presented by the Eta Sigma Chi Chapter on behalf of the students in Greek classes, was graciously received on behalf of their Majesties by King Paul. A copy of the scroll follows.



Excellencies Gracious Majesties
Paul and Frederika
King and Queen of the Hellenes - from
The University of the Hellenes of the
College of William and Mary in Virginia - 1933
Greetings:

Because of the steadfast Courage you have
shown in adversity, Because of your Love for your
own people and for all mankind, Because in 1722
Character and deeds you typify all that is best in the
Ancient Tradition of the Hellenes, Because the 1722
College of William and Mary since its foundation
in 1693 has ever cherished the Ideals of the Hellas
of Homer, Aeschylus and Plato, and Because
we admire the Spirit of their worthy descendants
today in the land of Greece and all over the World.

We the present students of the College of William
and Mary who are studying and have studied the
Language and Literature of the Hellenes in their
glorious Ancient Tongue, beg your gracious per-
mission to present to you this token of our Love and
admiration and hereto affix our signatures.

(Art work by Belle Gorman Goebel, Latin teacher, Faulkner School, Chicago)

WHAT SHALL WE READ?

Gertrude Oppelt, South Side H.S., Wayne, Indiana, can hardly be alone in seeking to solve the problem posed by the development of a ninth semester Latin class, composed of students who completed their four years of Latin in January and received the consent of the principal to continue Latin in the spring with a class meeting for fifty minute periods five days a week, with no credit given. In this situation, what is your choice of reading materials? Variety? More of Vergil? What? Miss Oppelt desired a great deal of sight reading that would not get beyond her students' depth, would provide some humor, present attitudes on religion and be of such content as to lead to class discussion. This Department invites your answers to this important teaching problem.

SORRY: The print furnished would not come out in a cut, and the artist was too cautious to forge the names of the students who signed the scroll.

THE EDITOR ~~loquens~~ DICENDA TACENDA

I AM NOT given to perfunctory gestures. After all, I am only the reporter with the flash-bulbs to feature the celebrities. But in that capacity I can, in the face of the nervousness of certain officers of CAMWS, give the readers reasonable assurance that there will really be an annual meeting. If you are curious to know where, it is to be at St. Louis; in fact, *all over* St. Louis. Washington University is in the locale of the former world's fair, though I cannot promise that all the attractions of that occasion are still operating (but there will be film-strips at least). Having read Terence's prologues, you will realize that DeLacy and the other professors might find such competition embarrassing. St. Louis University is in the theatre district, the municipal buildings being insulated from both by the railroad station and other structures. But if you trek west instead of east, passing University City (easily identified by the commanding residence of the Local Chairman), you will eventually come to the charming campus of Concordia Seminary. To go there has the added advantage of keeping you as far as possible from East St. Louis.

Since even the May issue will be printed before the meeting, any quinquagesimal special number must be deferred to the October of Vol. 50.

By inadvertence, in the list of Vice-Presidents sent me earlier for printing, the name of DEMETRIUS J. GEORGACAS for North Dakota was unfortunately omitted. HARRY J. LEON takes over for Texas; VIVIA CRAIG, Jacksonville, for Florida. Revised list next Fall.

* * * *

As for the letter below, from the animated as well as erudite Canadian-Californian, we cannot complain in Aesop's German that the lady *hat sich mit fremden Federn geschmückt*; for she had evidently missed Alexander's paper (and I am getting all mixed-up here anyway in the appli-

cation of the fable). Is she a feather in his cap, or isn't she? These *Sprichwörter* don't seem to click. Rather, the *sortes Vergilianae* gave them parallel inspiration, as with the authors of the Septuagint. Let us hear directly from the Pacific coast.

Editor *Classical Journal*:

Dear Sir:

I have read with great interest and practically full agreement, especially in the main thesis, Lillian Feder's "Vergil's Tragic Theme" in your February number. I am as sure as she is that our great scholars have quite misunderstood the fundamental motif of the *Aeneid*. In fact I developed precisely this idea at considerable length and, I think, forcefully, in my presidential speech before the American Philological Association at the Baltimore meeting of December, 1949, using as title "Maius Opus" (*Aeneid* 7.45). This address was subsequently published as Vol. XIV, No. 1, in the *University of California Series in Classical Philology*. I don't know how it entirely eluded Lillian Feder's attention. She is evidently a reader of the *Classical Weekly* in which "Maius Opus" was very sympathetically reviewed (46.12, p. 184) in a way to indicate the line I had pursued. My files contain also many letters of appreciation from American scholars expressing their profound interest in my theme and in its presentation. I am certainly glad to have it reiterated so adequately as by the article "Vergil's Tragic Theme."

I am pleased indeed to see that its authoress rejects the standard ideas about *Aeneid* 1.462, the famous *sunt lacrimae* line. I agree with her heartily, but my own explanation of the verse is entirely different from hers. It will appear in the *American Journal of Philology*, October, 1954, or even in July perhaps, depending on editorial exigencies. With a good deal of confidence I invite thus early the general attention to it. But I cannot go further; Lillian Feder and the rest of you will have to wait till later in the year. But be sure to read the *AJP*. It will no doubt have better luck with its publicity than the *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM HARDY ALEXANDER
University of California

Ex-Proper Nouns

Greek Kalends, Greek or Punic faith, French leave, Hobson's choice (from the Spanish-American War, paralleled by Diomedean necessity—Ar., *Eccl.* 1029, Plato, *Rep.* 493D), Pyrrhic victory—paralleled by Cadmean victory (Hdt. 1.166, Plato, *Laws* 641C)—and perhaps Fabian and Parthian tactics could be mentioned not too appropriately here—are all phrases standing of course for the non-existent. Cf. *gamos agamos* and *bios abios* in Greek tragedies. From *Aen.* 2.312, Ucalegon becomes any next-door neighbor whose house is on fire (Juv.3.199); Polydamus (*Iliad* 22.100 to Persius 1.4), any captious critic (but Aristarchus, Hor., *AP* 450, any severe literary critic); Palaemon (Juv.8.452), any grammarian; Automedon (Juv.1.61), any fast driver; Prometheus in Juvenal 4.133, a cook-stove; Maecenas, any patron. What 'Penelope' or 'Thales' or 'Nestor' often mean, is obvious. It is often absurd to capitalize 'Mars' or 'Bacchus'; and 'Venus' is often a highly *improper* noun. If a jack-of-all-trades is called "a man of many *Minervas*," the capital letter is inappropriate.

Scaevola was the Roman Blackstone, used generically. A Methusaleh is a Tithonus, or more historically (Hdt. 1.163, Cic., *Sen.* 4.19.69) Arganthonius. The mysterious 'Patavinity' which Asinius Pollio detected in Livy bids fair to stand for provincialism in general, and may be loosely compared to 'Boeotian' on the Greek side (Hor., *Epist.* 2.1.244). The "bridle of Theages" (Plato, *Rep.* 496BC) is ill-health, which makes some

Plastic "See-Thru" Cabinet

A very practical and attractive cabinet, useful and convenient in school, home or shop, may well be called to the attention of teachers. Though there are much larger ones available, the one I have seen is a little more than 12" by 10" by 6", has twenty transparent drawers, each of which may be divided into three compartments by aluminum strips provided, with slots in the front of each for the insertion of labels (furnished). The frame is of aluminum, painted light gray and with rubber feet to protect the desk surface. Surely a handy device for keeping in order and promptly available paper-clips, rubber bands, pen-points, stamps and the numerous other small objects a teacher uses. This handsome accessory can be had, postpaid, for \$7.95 from the *General Industrial Co.*, 5738 Elston Ave., Chicago. There are 750 other combinations at various prices.

persons students as a compensation. Hector's noble sentiment in *Iliad* 12.243 is parodied by the comic poet Metagenes (Athenaeus 271A), "The one best omen is to look out for your *dinner*;" and Menelaus' going to his brother's dinner uninvited was later applied frivolously to a *parasite*. Only a Euclid might count all the instances of proper nouns behaving improperly. (Needing filler, I am following McCartney, *non passibus aequis*. [Ed.])

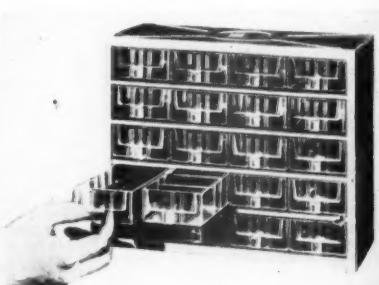
Wanted: Dumber Wives

Let not the matron who shares your marriage-bed possess the art of public speaking, nor sling a mean syllogism with well-rounded utterance, nor recognize all literary allusions; but let there be some things as well from books which she doesn't understand. I hate the woman who consults repeatedly and thumbs Palaemon's grammar, forever observing the rules and proprieties of speech; and who, with a *flair* for early literature, remembers verses unknown to me and corrects in her low-brow lady-friends errors of speech that a he-man should pay no attention to. Let a husband be allowed to perpetrate a solecism. Juvenal 6.448ff

CORRECTION

The Parke, Davis & Co. exhibit on the history of *pharmacy*, called to the attention of teachers in the March SCRAPBOOK, is not available except to the trade and to special university and technical high school departments, I am now informed. This was suggested in good faith; but the Detroit editor of the trade organ is being embarrassed by too many requests which it would be expensive to grant. Please desist.

It is gratifying that the SCRAPBOOK is *read* and that teachers are alert. But from now on spare the unhappy editor, to whom we apologize.



Summer Scholarships for Teachers

WORKSHOP scholarships for 80 foreign language teachers, including Latin, are available for the first University of Minnesota Language Auxilium, June 15-July 17, under terms of a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education. The Auxilium will be sponsored by the language departments of the University's College of Science, Literature, and the Arts, and the College of Education.

Through discussions and laboratory techniques, the Auxilium will emphasize, among other problems: active use of language, current trends in the methodology of second-language teaching, the development and practical application of audio-visual aids, and promotional techniques to make a community "language conscious."

The program for Latin teachers will emphasize the newly-developed "linguistic" approach, with special attention to its practical values for the secondary-school teacher without drastic revision of present programs. Attention will also be paid to the development and use of auxiliary tape-recorded materials geared, if possible, to regular classroom use.

In addition to six credits offered for the Auxilium, the 80 scholarship winners may also elect regular summer session courses up to four credits in education or in language and literature courses. Dr. Norman J. DeWitt, chairman of the Department of Classics, will offer a graduate course in Caesar, stressing "background" for high school teachers for 3 credits.

Deadline for scholarship applications is April 15. Inquiries for additional information should be sent to the Dean of the Summer Session, 135 Johnston Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota.

Lysistrata Today

Aristophanes' comedy was performed years ago at the Goodman ("little") Theater in Chicago; one of my students provided and ran a film of it (an Austrian version prepared as a protest at the time of the *Anschluss*) for my class in Greek drama in translation of which he was a member; last year the School of Speech at Northwestern gave it.

I received from Miss Haight a description of the staging of the *Lysistrata* last December at Vassar. Using men for the male roles, Vassar staged it all — including the sensational Cinesias-Myrrhine episode. Though there must be plenty of girls in the college, the chorus was reduced to about a fifth of the Aristophanic number. Apparently

DePaul Workshop

The following information on the Latin Workshop advertised on Cover IV is contained in an excerpt from Father Sherlock's letter to me in answer to specific questions I asked. I wish hereby both to forward his project and to encourage others by his success.

"The Summer Workshop in Latin will offer to teachers and prospective teachers of high-school Latin the benefit of interchange of ideas, methods, and procedures. It will serve as a refresher course for the experienced teacher, provide concentrated training for the less experienced and prospective teachers, and acquaint those interested in Latin with methods of study and background material.

The average attendance at each of the past two Workshops was 40. They were not from this area alone, two coming from New York, two from Pennsylvania, one from Ohio, one from Indianapolis, several from St. Louis, one from upper Wisconsin, from Los Angeles, San Antonio and Kansas City.

About one-third were lay people, and the others were priests, brothers, and nuns. In the case of the religious, while they would have to have "permission" of superiors to attend, there was no forcing by superiors. From the attitude of a great many of the religious it was, "Father, please send the literature concerning the Workshop to the headquarters, so that the Supervisors of Studies will know what is being done and so other teachers may come to it."

My own Provincial wrote to me last time that three or four of our own younger Priests, who were teaching in Seminaries, were coming to the Workshop, and stressed the fact that they had written to him for permission to attend and that he did not request them to attend."

they actually used a machine at Vassar (though I'm not certain of this). Obviously the performance was a great success, down to the final revel. Surely the great speech of Lysistrata is a serious and moving thing. The play is no farce, dealing as it does with the conflict of hate and love.

Jaeger Address

On the 60th anniversary of Bard College Library, Werner Jaeger gave the address on "Greeks and the Education of Man." Readers of his "Paideia" especially will have some idea of what he would say on such a theme. Complimentary copies of the address in printed form with cover may be had by writing the *Bard College Librarian, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York*.

*Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting***Classical Association of the Middle West and South**

St. Louis, Mo., April 22-24, 1954, on invitation of Saint Louis and Washington Universities. Headquarters: Hotel Sheraton, Lindell Blvd., at Spring Ave.

Registration: The desk, El Cortes Lounge next the Ball Room, open all day Thursday from 8:30, Friday and Saturday mornings. The registration fee for all attending except students is a dollar.

Executive Committee: First meeting 9:00 A.M., Thursday.

LATIN WEEK COMMITTEE: Dennis Martin, Winthrop College, *Chairman*; Clyde Murley, Northwestern University; Lucy A. Whitsel, Marshall College; Jessie Helen Branam, Trenton (Mo.) Sr. H.S.; Mattie Joyce Blackwell, Spartanburg (S.C.) Sr. H.S.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATIONAL POLICIES: Graydon W. Regenos, Tulane University, *Chairman*; James E. Dunlap, University of Michigan; Esther Weightman, Wisconsin H.S., Madison; Gertrude J. Oppelt, South Side H.S., Ft. Wayne; L.R. Lind, University of Kansas.

COMMITTEE ON SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS: Charles R. Hart, Emory University, *Chairman*; Gerald L. Beede, University of South Dakota; Gerald F. Else, State University of Iowa; William B. Hetherington, S.J., Xavier University; William C. Korfmacher, St. Louis University.

COMMITTEE ON LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

William C. Korfmacher, Saint Louis University, *Chairman*. Phillip H. DeLacy, Washington University, *Vice-Chairman*.

Sub-Committees:

On Coordination: The Reverend William Arndt, Concordia Seminary, *Chairman*; The Reverend James T. Curtin, Supt. of Catholic High Schools; Leonard J. Dierker, Supt. of Lutheran Schools; Philip J. Hickey, Supt. of Instruction, St. Louis Public Schools; George E. Mylonas, Washington University; Perry Bathbone, Director, Saint Louis Art Museum.

On Displays, Posters, and Exhibits: Helen Gorse, Hanley Jr. H. S., *Chairman*; M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., St. Stanislaus Seminary; The Reverend Martin Franzmann, Concordia Seminary; Mildred E. Huff, Sumner H. S.; Sister Mary Concpeta, R.S.M., Mercy Junior College.

On Entertainment: Mildred Buckley, Beaumont H. S., *Chairman*; Chauncey E. Finch, St. Louis University; Thomas McTighe, Maryville College.

On Housing for Priests, Sisters, and Brothers: The Reverend Marcus A. Haworth, S.J., St. Louis University, *Chairman*; Sister Helen Clare, S.L., Webster College; Sister John Marie, C.S.J., Fontbonne College; Sister Mary Edmond, S.L., Webster College.

On Joint Activities with Eta Sigma Phi: Frank G. Pickel, Washington University, *Chairman*; The Reverend Marcus A. Haworth, S.J., St. Louis University.

On Projectors: The Reverend M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., St. Stanislaus Seminary, *Chairman*.

On Public Relations: (Mrs.) Ruth F. Joedicke, Mary Institute, *Chairman*; S. A. E. Betz, Lindenwood College.

On Registration: Helen C. Gorse, Henley Jr. H. S., *Chairman*; Ernst Abrahamson, Washington University; (Mrs.) Del Martz, Clayton H. S.; with the kind cooperation of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce.

COMMITTEE ON FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

B. L. Ullman, University of North Carolina, *Chairman*

Phillip DeLacy, Washington University; Fred S. Dunham, University of Michigan; Chauncey E. Finch, Saint Louis University; Ernest L. Highbarger, Northwestern University

Gertrude E. Smith, University of Chicago

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Gertrude Smith, University of Chicago, *Chairman*

A. Pelzer Wagener, College of William and Mary

Clarence A. Forbes, Ohio State University; H. R. Butts, Jr., Birmingham-Southern College

William R. Tongue, University of Oklahoma

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John L. Heller, University of Illinois, *Chairman*

William H. Willis, University of Mississippi

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Kevin Guinagh, Eastern Illinois State Teachers College, *Chairman*

Frank O. Copley, University of Michigan

Arthur H. Moser, University of Tennessee

HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS**Midtown Hotels:**

Headquarters Hotel: Hotel Sheraton, 3701 Lindell Boulevard. Single rooms, from \$5.85; double rooms, from \$9.85; double rooms, twin beds, from \$11.85.

Hotel Melbourne, 3601 Lindell Boulevard, (one block east of the Sheraton). Single rooms, from \$4.50; double rooms, from \$7.00; double rooms, twin beds, from \$9.00.

Westtown Hotel: Hotel Kings-Way, 108 North Kingshighway (ten blocks southwest of the Sheraton). Single rooms, from \$4.50; double rooms, from \$6.50; double rooms, twin beds, \$8.50.

Downtown Hotel: Hotel Statler, 822 Washington Avenue (some 32 blocks northeast of the Sheraton). Single rooms, from \$5.00; double rooms, from \$7.50; double rooms, twin beds, from \$9.00.

Motels:

For those driving from the north: Motel Saint Louis, at Municipal Airport. For those driving from the northwest and west: King Brothers Motel, at U.S. Highway 40 on Lindbergh Boulevard. For those driving from the southwest: Motel Royal, at 9282 Watson Road, on U.S. Highway 66. For those driving from the south, southeast, and southwest: Park Plaza Motel, at U.S. Highway 66 and Lindbergh Boulevard.

Members are asked to make their own reservations directly with the hotel or motel of their choice. For further information, consult the Committee on Local Arrangements.

Thursday, April 22

10:00 A.M.: Ball Room, Pres. Gwatkin, presiding.

Gertrude R. Peery, Handley H.S., Winchester, Va.: "Latin and the High School Counselor"

Chauncey E. Finch, St. Louis University: "The Vatican Manuscripts on Microfilm at St. Louis University" (Microfilm display open mornings and afternoons in DuBourg Hall, 2nd floor, 221 N. Grand Blvd., one block east.)

Dennis Martin, Winthrop College: "Publicity for Latin"

Edith M. A. Kovach, Mumford H.S., Detroit: "The Fountains of Rome" (illustrated)

Russel M. Geer, Tulane University: "The Classics at the Constitutional Convention"

Ernestine F. Leon, University of Texas: "Learning Latin by Correspondence"

2:00 P.M.: Section A, Ball Room, Lucy A. Whitsel, Marshall College, presiding.

Waldo E. Sweet, University of Michigan: "Visual Aids for Teaching Latin Grammar" (illustrated)

Bonnie Selanders, Newton (Kan.) H.S.: "Art Appreciation in High School Latin"

Winifred J. Cummings, East H.S., Des Moines, Ia.: "The Latin Club — Is It Worth a Teacher's Time?"

Frances Harland, Los Alamos (N. Mex.) H.S.: "Roman Gaul" (illustrated)

Edith Atchison, Shorewood (Wis.) H.S.: "Does a Vergil Class Pay?"

Mary W. Evans, Ravenswood (W. Va.) H.S.: "Operation Latin — in the Small High School"

(Meeting of the Southern Section of the Association in this room after the session)

2:00 P.M.: Section B, Crystal Room, David M. Robinson, University of Mississippi, presiding.

William M. Seaman, Michigan State College: "Plautus' Audience"

Henry S. Robinson, University of Oklahoma: "The American Excavations in the Agora of Athens" (illustrated)

Edward C. Echols, University of Alabama: "The Police Chief of Imperial Rome"

Charles R. Hart, Emory University: "Samuel Johnson Unlocks His Heart in Latin Verse"

(Members of the Southern Section of the

Association will meet in the Ball Room immediately after this session)

4:00 P.M.: Tea, on invitation of St. Louis University, Commerce and Finance Lounge, 3674 Lindell Blvd., a few doors east.

7:00 P.M.: Subscription Dinner (\$4.35 a plate, gratuity and tax included), Ball Room. (Business dress requested. *Feminis non audemus praescribere*)

Toastmaster: William E. Gwatkin, Jr., University of Missouri

Welcomes: Ethan A. H. Shepley, Acting Chancellor, Washington University; The Very Reverend Paul C. Reinert, S. J., President Saint Louis University

Response for the Association
Music, instrumental and vocal, by a Fontbonne College group

W. L. Carr, University of Kentucky: "Our Association — The First Fifty Years"

Paul L. MacKendrick, University of Wisconsin: "Our Association — The Second Fifty Years"

Clyde Murley, Northwestern University: "Our Association's Classical Journal"

Friday, April 23

7:30 A.M.: State Vice-Presidents, the Editor and Managing Editor of *CJ*, and the Executive Committee will meet for breakfast, in the Pine Room. Secretary-Treasurer John N. Hough, presiding.

9:30 A.M.: Section A, Ball Room, Esther Weightman, Wisconsin H.S., Madison, presiding.

Berthold L. Ullman, University of North Carolina: "Latin as One of the Foreign Languages in the Grades"

(It is hoped that discussion will ensue. Members are urged to come with questions or with comments upon the program in their own communities)

Latin Songs, led by Edith Lanter, Nortonville (Kan.) H.S.; Dorothy Jean Lanter, Topeka, Kansas, at the piano.

John F. Charles, Wabash College, and Charles S. Rayment, Carleton College: "College Credit for Latin Studied in High School; A Specific Proposal"

Arthur Kaplan, University of Georgia: "How Much of a Criminal Was Catiline?"

Bruno Meinecke, University of Michigan: "A Refresher Course at Michigan for Students with Two Units of High School Latin"

PROGRAM

9:30 A.M.: Section B, Crystal Room, Francis R. Walton, Florida State University, *presiding*.

D. Herbert Abel, Loyola University of Chicago: "Euripides' *Deus ex Machina*; Fault or Excellence?"

J. D. Sadler, Furman University: "A College Latin Experiment"

Edward L. Bassett, University of Chicago: "The Regulus Episode in the *Punica* of Silius Italicus"

J. Walter Graham, University of Toronto and Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology "Auri Sacra Fames — Man's Longing for Gold" (illustrated)

Sister M. Bede Donelan, College of Saint Teresa, Winona, Minnesota: "The *Contra Gentes* of Saint Athanasius"

Mars M. Westington, Hanover College: "Birthdays and Anniversaries in Greece and Rome"

2:00 P.M.: Section A, Women's Building Lounge, Washington University, Norman T. Pratt, Jr., Indiana University, *presiding*. (The Classical Club of St. Louis will assist in transportation both ways.)

Shirley Streeby, Laboratory School, Marshall College: "Training the Latin Teacher"

Grace A. Bennett, Stuttgart (Ark.) H.S.: "My First Latin Class"

Oscar W. Reinmuth, University of Texas: "The Teachers of Athenian Youth"

Ortha L. Wilner, Wisconsin State College: "Recruitment — Facts, Not Opinions"

Elizabeth H. Noble, James Whitcomb Riley High School, South Bend: "The Use of a Greek Background for a High School Latin Teacher"

R. Lorne Smith, East York Collegiate Institute, Toronto: "Some Ideas We Are Using to Make Latin Interesting"

2:00 P.M.: Section B, Room 213, Rebstock Hall, Washington University, Grace L. Beede, University of South Dakota, *presiding*.

Margaret M. Forbes, University of Minnesota: "Can We Speed Up the Learning of Latin?"

Grundy Steiner, Northwestern University: "Columella and Martial on Living in the Country"

Sister M. Melchior, O.P., Rosary College; Mary R. Johnson, Kingsport (Tenn.) H.S.: "The 1953 Summer Session of the American Academy in Rome" (illustrated)

Paul R. Murphy, Ohio University: "The Summer Classical School at Cumae"

4:00 P.M.: Tea, on the invitation of Washington University, Women's Lounge.

7:30 P.M.: Xavier H. S. Auditorium, 323 West Pine Boulevard, one block southwest, Phillip H. DeLacy, Washington University, *presiding*. (Joint Session with the St. Louis Society of AIA and Eta Sigma Phi)

Henry T. Rowell, Johns Hopkins University, President of the Archaeological Institute of America: "Rome of the Flavians" (illustrated)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS — William E. Gwatkin, Jr., University of Missouri

Saturday, April 24

9:00 A.M.: Ball Room, Annual Business Meeting, William E. Gwatkin, Jr., *presiding*.

10:00 A.M.: Section A, Ball Room, Evelyn Rieke, Southern Illinois University, *presiding*.

Bessie T. Dobbins, Albany (Ga.) H.S.: "Trend of the Times — Latin in 1924-54"

Catherine B. Boyd, Kimball (S.D.) H.S.: "Greek Drama in the Teaching of High School English"

Gertrude Johnson, Logansport (Ind.) H.S.: "In the Eternal City" (illustrated)

10:00 A.M.: Section B, Crystal Room, George J. Ryan, College of William and Mary, *presiding*.

James S. Constantine, University of Virginia: "Introduction to a History of Greek Music"

Saul S. Weinberg, University of Missouri: "Color in Greek Sculpture" (illustrated)

Alfred P. Dorjahn, Northwestern University: "Observations on Early Books and Their Makers"

Places to Visit: Among the various places of interest in St. Louis is the Saint Louis Art Museum, in Forest Park (readily reached by bus, west, from Hotel Sherman), which has tendered an urgent invitation to Convention attendants to see its holdings of classical interest.

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Style in *De Bello Civilis*

THIS PAPER concerns the stylistics of Julius Caesar. One ought, I think, to say in civil terms why this choice of authors.

For those of us who are compulsorily educated, Caesar passes through our consciousness in the early years of high school. Generally speaking, he is the first Latin author the young student reads; and if the student gains any facility with the language, he gains it first with Caesar. Most of us are unaware just how wise a choice this is; for Caesar is the best of the Latin prose authors.

Caesar never makes a grammatical mistake, nor is his meaning ever vague. Without exception, his Latin is never complicated with Greecisms, or with new forms of syntax, or with provincialisms,* or with pedantry (the Romans had a great love of the practical and if they learned something nothing would satisfy them but they display it). As an author, Caesar took his language much as he found it, much as we should find it today in a Latin primer, and made from it literature.

True enough, Caesar's vocabulary is not ever changing as is Cicero's or that of any of the Latin poets; but it is, nevertheless, immense and filled with subtleties and shadings. Certainly he is not an easy author: there is much more indirect discourse in Caesar than can ever be found in Horace, and Caesar's sentences are sometimes as long as any Cicero conceived. But he never deviates from the basic rules of Latin syntax; and his innovations, when present, are never obvious.

Caesar found Latin particularly suited to his needs. Among other languages Latin distinguishes itself by its ability to express exactly what an author wants it to say. Unlike Greek or English it does not explode with ambiguities and it is not readily susceptible to change. One reads Pliny with virtually the same eye one reads Terence. Homer and Plato are at antipodal poles; and Chaucer and William Butler Yeats

would seem to have poeticized in two unrelated languages.

This stability of language Caesar exploits to the full. Rarely is he metaphorical in any poetic sense and his style and his language undergo few changes. This is the chief source of attraction in *De Bello Civilis* because the pace Caesar maintains is unequalled in literature. Perhaps the only book in English with similar qualities of feverish excitement, careful detail and inevitable movement is *Ten Days That Shook the World*. Yet for all its intensity, John Reed's book is quite without organization: and unlike Caesar's Commentaries, it does not have a beginning, a middle, and an end.

With one brief apologia, I should like to conclude these prefatory remarks: when I called Caesar the "best" I did so advisedly. A similar tribute came from no less a literary personage than Cicero, who said of *De Bello Gallico* in the *Brutus* that there was no better way to write a history and, indeed, no better history had ever been written. Now Cicero thought strictly in terms of style and Caesar was the author who pre-eminently satisfied him. By the time *De Bello Civilis* greeted the Roman public, Cicero was out of business and what critical remarks he had then to make did not reach posterity.

WHICH IS BY WAY OF introducing the proper study of this essay. From Caesar's style, which has suffered a long, unfortunate neglect, one can discern the superior uses to which a few simple repetitions can be put. By "style" I understand the way the words are used, the way the sentences are formed, and the way the both of these affect the cognitive and aesthetic ele-

*I mean by this "regional terms" such as might be found in Seneca, who was a Spaniard, or in Tertullian or St. Augustine who were West Africans.

ments of the prose considered in its totality.

For such an analysis as this I have chosen three short passages from *De Bello Civili*, the last two of which may buttress certain remarks I make about the first; also, these last two have an ablative absolute construction, and Caesar's use of this construction is a brilliant exercise of literary logic.

It is to the first of these passages that I shall direct the main part of my attention. Few paragraphs would defend so well an author who calls himself a "writer". If one understands it in all of its literary implications, then one goes beyond the pale, academic reasons (simplicity of vocabulary, a primary source of history) which usually recommend the reading of Caesar. A writer should be judged by the best he is able to produce since it is on that that all his value is predicated.

Auximo Caesar progressus omnem Picenum pervenit. Cunctae earum regionum praefecturae libentissimis animis eum recipiunt exercitumque eius omnibus rebus iuvant. Etiam Cingulo, quod oppidum Labienus constituerat suaque pecunia exaedificaverat, ad eum legati veniunt quaeque imperaverit se cupidissime facturos pollicentur. Milites imperat: mittunt. BC 1.15.

Two peculiarities: Caesar refers to himself in the third person and he uses the present tense. While Caesar is justly famous for objectivity, the "aesthetic distance" he lent his work by the use of the third person was not original with him (Thucydides comes to mind, and Plato). His use of the present tense, however, is distinctive. Part of Caesar's method in maintaining a rapid pace is accomplished by the use of this tense. As a reader, one understands the situation and the action with the same suddenness and excitement as does Caesar. I should say that in the present tense action "takes place" while in the secondary tenses it "unfolds". To be consistent with the present tense, however, demands certain sacrifices to heighten certain effects.

In the secondary tenses, digressions

seem perfectly legitimate. The reader is aware that the action is over and done with, that it has been completed. When the author intrudes, explaining certain aspects of the action, commenting generally on the situation, he often makes himself welcome. But in the present tense it seems unwise for an author to interrupt the action in any way, to halt the progress of his story even by short metaphors.

Once committed to the present tense, an author impedes and disturbs the effect so far created by any literary device which calls attention to itself. Throughout the whole of *De Bello Civilis*, Caesar accepts this discipline he has set for himself. Almost never does he include anything which is not related directly to the narrative itself. His choice of the present tense accounts for his paucity of metaphor. By no means is this criticism meant to suggest that he cannot be metaphorical; at one point in his history he uses the phrase "per licentiam noctis", a daring and imaginative figure of speech.

Co-existent with the present tense, Caesar's verbal qualities contribute to what I have called his pace, the speed with which his narrative proceeds. These qualities manifest themselves most clearly in this passage. Each sentence, each clause, concludes with a verb, and the last sentence is an asyndeton. Caesar will do this as often as he can. He will juxtapose two verbs to conclude his sentence or an infinitive and a verb.

Normally, verbs tend to conclude Latin sentences. Normally, English sentences are built around the subject, predicate, and object. Writers try to invert the normal order. Caesar to the contrary. The verb ending never disappears from *De Bello Civilis*; it is accompanied by as many auxiliaries and infinitives and other verbs as can gracefully be managed. Caesar in fact would rather use a verb than a noun; he would prefer a verb to a participial he goes to the perfect rather than use adjective. In the passage I have quoted

the perfect passive participle. And in Latin this is a circumlocution.

So far I have examined isolated elements of the paragraph. Looking at it as a whole one can feel a rhythmic progression: first there is a simple sentence followed by a compound sentence; then a complex sentence with compound parts; finally, a three-word sentence concludes the paragraph with two verbs resolving, as it were, the destiny of the passage. Now while I am usually in disagreement with divisions in literature, I do want to make one here. This paragraph of Caesar's I divide into three parts — theme, development, and recapitulation. In short, to borrow an analogy from music, the passage has a sonata form.

The first sentence introduces a short statement of Caesar's progress toward winning the war; the next two sentences develop this theme by adding some complications and some historical background; and the last three words resolve the passage with Caesar once again pursuing the fight.

This formula (with no one-to-one correspondence) is the harmonic theme of *De Bello Civili*. Perhaps the divisions of the book itself will bear witness to this point. *Commentarius Primus* describes simply the prime cause of the war and the success of the first campaign; *Commentarius Secundus* continues with the campaign in Gaul, the initial defeats and consequent victories in Hispania, considerations of political ferment, past and present, in Rome and Africa, a description of the strength of Pompey's camp, and ends with Caesar poised for Greece; *Commentarius Tertius* completes the book with a report of victory at Philippi.

Divisions such as I have made should be taken *cum grano salis*. But I believe this sonata form of simple declaration, complication, and resolution flourishes at discrete points in *De Bello Civili* and that what is a paragraphic rhythm here is reflected in the rhythm of the history as a whole.

What is much more obvious in the

passage is a stylistic device which, propagandistic in intent, gives the book both body and the ever-present idea of Caesar's inevitable victory. Talking of himself, Caesar employs short, declarative sentences. With Labienus, an ally of Pompey, he switches to a much more complicated structure. A stunning execution, effective, pointed, and yet, to a degree, invisible. For not until close examination is it clear that Caesar identifies himself with the verbal, decisive sections and identifies Pompey with the adverbial, sometimes inconclusive sections. Caesar will win the war because his action is always direct and simple; Pompey will lose because his action is always indirect and complicated.

Further comparison is revealed by the sentence:

Acceptis mandatis Roscius cum L. Caesar Capuam pervenit ibique consules Pompeiumque invenit: postulata Caesaris renuntiat. BC 1.10.

Here again, in comparison to the short, quick sentences describing the execution of Caesar's orders, the writing becomes circumlocutory when it concerns Pompey. For Roscius finds the consuls before he finds Pompey and the sentence puts Caesar's emissary in the spotlight and Pompey in the chorus. Since the messages Roscius carries to Pompey contain Caesar's conditions for concluding the war, Pompey's reaction is an important one. In wanting to end the war, Caesar acts precisely and with expediency. Pompey, in the passage which follows this sentence, makes a sententious, turgid reply.

Without ado, I wish to call attention to one more quality of Caesar's prose as it is exhibited here. In the great many books concerning Caesar's style, and for that matter in the classical journals, too, there is lack of mention of Caesar's sense of humor. This is strange; for there is a high degree of humor in Caesar and it is to be witnessed by this paragraph. It is humor that goes by the name of irony.

Caesar goes to great historical lengths in the first passage I have quoted to establish Labienus' relation to Cingulum. Yet he manages to describe Cingulum's response to Caesar in three short words: "milites imperat: mittunt." If such a response is expected the prose does not anticipate it. The citizens of Cingulum wanted to help Caesar and this was not to be expected of them. With what exact degree of eagerness they wanted to help is indicated by the single verb "mittunt," coming as it does after Caesar's request. With three judiciously placed words Caesar suggests how he swept before him everything on the road to Rome, with what enthusiasm he was met all along the peninsula. These last three words illuminate everything that precedes them.

Qualities of Caesar's humor are part and parcel of his rhetoric; they may not at first seem to have much bearing on his stylistics. Yet his irony, here and elsewhere, is accomplished by the use of short sentences, almost always in the form of verbs, which not only contradict the response normally expected from the situation but point the situation in an entirely different direction. Doubly emphatic and ironic is Caesar's ability to let the sentences stand alone, as though this sudden change were the only expected outcome, and return to his narrative.

With a few observations on Caesar's use of the ablative absolute, I shall conclude. The ablative absolute has no real correspondent in any of the romance languages or in English. It is a thought, never a sentence, expressed by any number of words in the ablative case. Possibly it might be compared to a nominative absolute in English which is a participial phrase having no relation to the subject of the sentence. Since scholars have never agreed to translate the ablative absolute in any set manner, translations are of little help.

It is important that some comments be essayed in this connection with Cae-

sar, for he is the great exponent of the ablative's use. He uses it more facilely (and possibly more often) than any other Latin writer, so much so that it becomes the obvious mark of his style.

Earlier in this paper I said that Caesar rarely introduced Grecisms to his prose. I stand corrected. His use of the ablative contradicts me but only paradoxically. The Greek, as we know it, had no ablative case and the dative and the genitive were called upon to take up the slack. When the Greeks wanted an ablative absolute, they used the genitive. In Greek, however, the genitive absolute appears far less frequently than the Latin absolute. The Greek writers used it chiefly to express some thought which, not having an immediate physical or psychological relationship to the subject, yet figured chronologically. Just so Caesar uses the ablative absolute in Latin!—in a narrow, predefined, restricted sense, one might say, a strict, classical use.

If at any time in *De Bello Gallico* or *De Bello Civili* he does not use nouns with the perfect passive participle, I am unaware of this.

Almost always the noun and the participle begin the sentence; almost always they figure chronologically. In one of his sentences Caesar says:

Recepto Firmo expulsoque Lentulo Caesar conquiri milites qui ab eo discesserant, delectumque instituti iubet. BC 1.16.

Two ablative absolutes are here juxtaposed (just as Caesar likes to juxtapose verbs). The sentence states that Caesar began drafting into his army those soldiers who had deserted from Lentulus. The fact that Firmum was retaken has little to do with how Caesar rebuilt his forces, that the citizens of Firmum deposed Lentulus little with the vast number of soldiers who roamed the countryside under no banner. But it was not until after Firmum was retaken and Lentulus exiled that Caesar could begin to institute levies.

What the ablative absolute in Cae-

The *Fabulae Palliatae* and the Spread of Hellenism

MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN about Hellenism in Rome during the second and third centuries before Christ — about its character, the manner of its infiltration, and its effects upon the Romans.¹ There is no way of estimating the degree to which any particular agency contributed to the spread of Greek influences. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to suppose that the theater, reaching as it did all classes of society except possibly the slaves² and borrowing much from Greek drama, legend, and mythology, must have had a great deal to do with fostering philhellenism. It may be further assumed that the *fabulae palliatae*, which were so closely modeled upon Greek plays, would be especially likely to arouse among the Roman spectators an interest in Greek life and culture. The plays of Plautus and Terence, therefore, afford a basis for some speculation concerning the part played by the theater in encouraging the spread of Hellenism.

At least three aspects of the *fabula palliata* as represented by the works of these two writers could be expected to sharpen public curiosity about the Hellenistic civilization: the reflection of Greek life and social customs contained in the dramas, the Roman playwrights' high respect for Greek comedy as revealed through comment and imitation, and the abundant references to Greek mythology, legend, and literature found in the plays. The extent to which Greek life rather than Roman is portrayed by Plautus and Terence has already been the subject of so much discussion³ that detailed treatment here would be mere repetition. Authorities tend to agree — albeit in varying degrees — that it is basically Greek life which is reflected, with a mixture of Roman elements, especially in Plautus. The Roman crowds who watched the plays must have been intrigued by the foreign atmosphere,⁴ for if it had aroused their antagonism or killed their interest the *fabulae palliatae* could hardly

sar's diction has to say is not unimportant. No. Very often Caesar orients the reader to the situation by its use. By continually reverting to this construction he manages a highly elliptical style.

On the other hand, the ablative absolute is sometimes used adverbially. "Acceptis mandatis" serves really to end a long passage of direct discourse and reintroduce the narrative. That Roscius received orders is subordinate to what those orders were. Thus conceived, the ablative absolute becomes indispensable for Caesar's continuity. When I called this construction an example of Caesar's logic, I meant to imply that the ablative absolute served as a nexus: it never lays down the basic proposition but it must necessarily be present to effect the proper conclusion.

Exactly how close this analysis

comes to understanding Caesar as literature, I shall not undertake to say. But I think it is safe to conclude that Caesar as an author is concerned with the fact, and with the fact as it can be stated verbally. He knows what he wants to say and can say it with strict economy. Certainly he was as interested in how he would say his piece as was Cicero. But Caesar's style never flashes; it works covertly to bring about its desired end.

Lastly, although Cicero held the Roman literary world of that time under an iron influence, Caesar displayed no intention of helping him remodel and expand the language. He was interested solely in creating narrative action; and to the extent that he succeeded he must be adjudged a master.

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have attained such popularity at Rome. We can believe, therefore, that this atmosphere served to prod the Roman's curiosity about the Greeks, thus becoming a means of disseminating further the seeds of Hellenism.

It seems probable that a certain respect for Greek drama was inspired by the attitude which Plautus and Terence revealed toward it. In seven of Plautus' plays and five of Terence's acknowledgment is made, in full or in part, of the Greek originals.⁵ Since rewriting a Greek play was not considered plagiarism, these admissions of borrowing were obviously not merely for the sake of honesty; more likely they were felt to add impressiveness to the production about to be staged. This surmise finds corroboration in the prologue of the *Menaechmi* (7-10), where Plautus hints that any connection with Greece lends glamor:

And poets do this in comedies: they affirm that all the action takes place at Athens in order that it may seem more Grecian to you.

It is interesting to note that Terence in the prologue to the *Heauton Timoroumenos* (8-9) remarks that he would give the name of the Greek playwright if he did not think that most of those in the audience already knew it, a statement which suggests that the theater-goers of Rome may already have become familiar enough with Greek New Comedy to be able, in some cases at least, to identify the author upon hearing the title of a play.

While Plautus' acknowledgments are matter-of-fact, Terence in the course of the explanations and arguments with which he defends himself against his critics displays a certain deference toward his Greek models and seems to take it for granted that the natural and indeed only source of material for Roman comedy writers is Greek comedy. These prologues must have been effective publicity not only for the feuding Latin playwrights but also for the Greek drama which was presented as the universal source and supreme mod-

el for Romans who wished to succeed in the writing of comedies. Audiences were surely convinced of the superior qualities of a drama which outstanding Latin writers were proud to acknowledge as the source of their own works even when such borrowing brought accusations of the kind leveled at Terence.

Plautus and Terence apparently assume on the part of their audiences both an interest in, and some knowledge of, Greek mythology, literature, and art and even of the Greek language.⁶ The use of *Livius Andronicus'* translation of the *Odyssey* as a textbook and the introduction by him and Ennius of the study of Greek literature as a part of Roman education⁷ were reasons enough for the dramatists to suppose that their allusions to Greek legend and mythology would be understood by the members of the higher classes. But since a writer of comedy cannot be satisfied with pleasing only a part of his audience, particularly if that audience is as vociferous in expressing disapproval and boredom as the Latin spectators were, it must be supposed that the lower classes also had been infected with the new interest in things Greek.⁸ It is not difficult to believe that understanding and approval greeted such speeches as that in which Pleusicles of the *Miles Gloriosus* observes that after a ten days' visit a guest "is an *Iliad* of annoyances" (743). No doubt the story of the *Iliad* was known to many people who had not read the epic. Any real appreciation, however, for many of the more detailed allusions would require a definite knowledge of characters and legends.

Surveys have been made of the Plautine and Terentian allusions to literature, paintings, and philosophical tenets.⁹ An amazingly large number of such passages is revealed, and in general the conclusion is reached that they must have been intelligible to the Roman spectators even in Plautus' time although the references are usually to Greek subjects or authors. Ob-

viously, if this conclusion is valid, the average Roman must already have acquired at least a superficial knowledge of many aspects of Greek culture. It does not seem necessary, since the references under discussion have already been collected, to attempt a re-listing here; but one illustration may be useful. If, for example, the passages which refer to Achilles are considered, it can be seen immediately how essential for a full appreciation of Plautus' wit was some knowledge of Greek legend.

One who knew nothing of Achilles' character and world-shaking deeds would miss most of the humor in the lines of the *Asinaria* (405 f.) which compare a slave pretending to be a steward with the mighty hero of the Trojan War. The braggart of the *Miles Gloriosus*, Pyrgoplynices, is made to appear doubly ridiculous, first by a tricky maid who, announcing that her mistress is dying of love for him, addresses him as Achilles, "taker of cities," and "killer of kings," and then by his own pretense of boredom at the flattering comparison implied (1054-57).

Sometimes the utter incongruity in the comparisons drawn would, in the mind of the understanding listener, not only emphasize the absurdity of a situation but also help to establish the impression the author wished to create. Although one might feel no particular sympathy with the young man in the *Truculentus* who spends his time mourning the coldness of a courtesan whom he can no longer pay, something very near disgust is evoked when the maid compares his grief to that of Thetis for her dead son (730 f.). Such a speech, however, helps to prepare for the final effect of the play as a satirical commentary on the morals of the age. Other passages in the comedies are made more striking by allusions to Achilles: when, in the *Mercator*, Eutychus asks for money to pay for a girl Charinus has just commissioned him to buy, the latter replies that he will beg Achilles for the gold

that ransomed Hector (488), indicating clearly in this one line both the high value he himself places upon the girl and the improbability that the money will ever be forthcoming.

Again, if Pleusicles' justification of himself when he appeared in the *Miles Gloriosus* disguised as a sailor was to be understood, the cause and results of Achilles' anger against Agamemnon had to be known; for Plautus permits the young man merely a passing reference to the fact that Achilles had allowed many of the Greeks to be killed. (1289). In this instance lack of knowledge would be no great disadvantage because the general import of the speech would be caught anyway. But the man who did not know the stories alluded to in the following lines from the *Bacchides* would be at a complete loss in understanding what young Pistoclerus and his tutor Lydus actually are saying (155-57):

Pi. I shall become a Hercules, as I think, and you a Linus.

Ly. By Pollux, I fear rather that because of your acts I shall be a Phoenix and report to your father that you are dead.

These examples are enough to indicate that the spectator who was not pretty well acquainted with Achilles would miss much of the humor and subtle meaning in the plays and would probably have his curiosity about the Greek hero aroused or intensified. The same statement may be made with regard to other heroes. In the case of Ulysses, for instance, there are lines referring to his long absence from home, his faithful wife Penelope, his craftiness, especially at Troy, and even to his thievish grandfather.¹⁰ Almost the whole long boast of Chrysalus in the *Bacchides* (925-73) about the tricking of his master would be flat and tedious to one who knew nothing of the capture of Troy. References to other characters in Greek mythology and legend are frequent and far too casual to be mere literary flights introduced to tickle the fancy of the educated listeners.

Probably some of the myths associated with the Greek gods who had been adopted by the Romans would have been circulated among all classes, but it may be doubted that the uneducated would have known many of the rather obscure stories Plautus touches upon. Certainly religious interests would not have led to a knowledge of many of the authors, philosophers, and historical characters mentioned. When, for example, Palaestrio of the *Miles Gloriosus* suggests that only Lesbian Phaon has been as greatly loved by a woman as is the braggart soldier Pyrgopolynices (1246f.), many of the spectators must have felt impelled to learn, if they did not already know, just who this Phaon was who had been thus immortalized by a woman's love.

This compulsion to understand allusions heard from the stage would naturally become an important means of spreading an interest in Greek literature and mythology. The spectator who did not understand some particular reference not only lost the point of the lines but probably felt a certain inferiority to those persons who did understand. It is easy to suspect that the common man had already begun to associate glibness about Greek ways and literature with sophistication. If he wished to appear even moderately sophisticated, he must acquire at least a superficial knowledge of such matters as were frequently mentioned in the plays which he attended. Thus would an interest in Hellenism be subtly inspired even though the playwright might not have been concerned about such a result.

When we remember that only a small percentage of the *fabulae palliatae* which were actually produced have come down to us, we realize that the opportunities for seeing these Greek-derived comedies must have been neither infrequent nor unappreciated. In view, therefore, of their reflection of Greek life and literature and of the Roman playwrights' obvious respect for the New Comedy models, it seems likely

that the *fabulae palliatae* served as an especially adept instrument for intensifying and spreading an interest in Hellenistic culture among all classes of Romans. For the masses, who did not read Greek literature or study Greek philosophy and art, it may have been one of the chief media for promoting such an interest.

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NOTES

¹ Cf., for example, J. W. H. Atkins, *Literary Criticism in Antiquity—A Sketch of Its Development* (Cambridge, 1934), II, 1-4; J. Wight Duff, *A Literary History of Rome from the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age* (New York, 1927), 92-117; Harry E. Wedeck, *Humour in Varro and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1929), 40.

² Cf. W. Warde Fowler, *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero* (New York, 1927), 298; Theodor Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, tr. William P. Dickson (New York, 1868), II, 501.

³ Cf. Philip Whaley Harsh, *A Handbook of Classical Drama* (Stanford, Calif., 1944), 336, 376-77; George E. Duckworth, ed., *The Complete Roman Drama* (New York, 1942), I, xxviii-xxix; H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Latin Literature from the Earliest Times to the Death of St. Augustine* (New York, n. d.), 79; W. Y. Sellar, *The Roman Poets of the Republic* (Oxford, 1905), 169-79; Duff, *op. cit.* (note 1, above), 165-74; Wedeck, *op. cit.* (note 1, above), 40; Sidney G. Ashmore, ed., *The Comedies of Terence* (New York, 1908), 19-21, 31-32; Georgia Williams Leffingwell, *Social and Private Life at Rome in the Time of Plautus and Terence* (New York, 1918), 11.

⁴ Cf. Arthur L. Wheeler, *Review of Social and Private Life at Rome in the Time of Plautus and Terence* by Georgia Williams Leffingwell, *CW*, XIII (1919), 22.

⁵ Cf. Plautus, *Cas.* 31-4; *Merc.* 9 f.; *Mil.* 85; *As.* 10 f.; *Poen.* 53; *Rud.* 32; *Trinum.* 18-4; *Terence, And.* 9-14; *Eun.* 19-20, 30-3; *Phorm.* 24-6; *Adel.* 6-11; *Heaut.* 4-9. Rose (*op. cit.*, [note 3 above], 61-2, note 107) says the prologue of the *Casina* is post-Plautine, and Duff (*op. cit.*, [note 1 above], 164) mentions the prologues of the *Casina* and the *Poenulus* among those listed as spurious.

⁶ Cf. Walter Hobhouse, *The Theory and Practice of Ancient Education* (New York, 1910), 33; Gilbert Norwood, *Plautus and Terence* (New York, 1932), 25-6, 45; Rose, *op. cit.* (note 3, above), 59.

⁷ Cf. Sellar, *op. cit.* (note 3, above), 51 f.; Duff, *op. cit.* (note 1, above), 121-4; J. Wight Duff, "The Beginnings of Latin Literature," *CAH* (1939), VIII, 400 f., 404; Leffingwell, *op. cit.* (note 3, above), 67; J. F. Dobson, *Ancient Education and Its Meaning to Us* (New York, 1932), 93; Paul Monroe, *Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period* (New York, 1902, 347; Rose, *op. cit.* (note 3, above), 21.

⁸ Cf. Leffingwell, *op. cit.* (note 3, above), 13, 135-6; Wheeler, *op. cit.* (note 4, above), 22; A. S. Wilkins, *Roman Education* (Cambridge, 1905), 19.

⁹ Charles Knapp, "References to Painting and Literature in Plautus and Terence," *PAPA*, 41 (1911), xlvi-lili; "References to Painting in Plautus and Terence," *CP* XII (1917), 143-57; "References to Literature in Plautus and Terence," *AJP* 40 (1919), 231-61; P. R. Coleman-Norton, "Philosophical Aspects of Early Roman Drama," *CP* 31, 320-37. See, also, Leffingwell, *op. cit.* (note 3, above), 13, 68, 449 (note 1).

¹⁰ Cf. Plautus, *Bacch.*, *Frag.* XV and vs. 275; Stich. 1-6; *Men.* 902; *Ps.* 1244.

We See...

By the Papers

Edited by John F. Latimer

STRINGING ALONG

Some things hang by a thread. Chief among them are fate, luck and escape from a labyrinth. There are examples of all three in modern as well as ancient times. A case in point is that of an English lad who got lost in the "labyrinth of a chalk cave in England, whose passages extend for eight miles." The British Bobbies, who are renowned for their erudition, remembered their mythology and spun string along as they groped through the speluncular darkness. By dawn the boy had wound his way out.

This incident caused *The Arkansas Gazette* to editorialize (Jan. 17, '54) with appropriate reference to Theseus and his escape from the Cretan labyrinth with the aid of Ariadne's thread. Then the writer took up the two-fold thread of Ariadne's fate. He recalled how Homer had her killed before she reached Athens (*Od.* 11.321ff.), but seemed to prefer the later legend of her desertion by Theseus and rescue by Dionysus. (*Ovid Met.* 8.172ff.)

One cannot quarrel with the writer's mythological facts. It is surely stringing things along too far, however, to conclude with him: "It really all came about from Ariadne's string. And women have been stringing men ever since." (And remember, John, it was women who were strung up in *Od.* 22.472. [Ed.])

We shall leave Miss Essie Hill, who sent the clipping from Little Rock, to deal with the editor in singular fashion.

POW STORY

Writers from time to time use various incidents from ancient history to remind us directly or by implication that many of our current problems are not entirely new. Thus the *Topics of the Times* (Jan. 17, '54), undoubtedly with the Korean POWs in mind, epitomized the Greek story of the Spartan prisoners captured on the island of Sphacteria, and its sad sequel for the Athenians at Syracuse 12 years later in 413 B.C.

Sphacteria was essentially the story of a lost opportunity for peace. To save 420 hoplites Sparta was willing, not only to

make peace but to form an alliance with the Athenians: "While the issue of the war is in doubt, while your reputation is enhanced and you may have our friendship also, and while our disaster admits of a reasonable settlement and no disgrace as yet has befallen us, let us be reconciled; and let us for ourselves choose peace instead of war, and give respite from evils to all other Hellenes." (*Thucydides*: 4.20, quoted in the *NYT* from the Loeb translation by Charles Foster Smith.)

This would have meant peace with honor for both sides and joint control (not included in the quotation above) of the Hellenic world. But the Athenians, under the demagogic influence of Cleon, put as the price of reconciliation surrender of the garrison on Sphacteria and return of four districts ceded to the Spartans 20 years earlier. The speech containing these proposals is not given by Thucydides, but the proposals are definitely reported by him (*The Topics* writer slipped up on this point). The Spartans suggested that a commission from each side study these proposals and try to reach some agreement about them, but Cleon insisted on public debate. To that they could not agree because of the possible effects on their allies of such an open discussion, particularly if the negotiation should fail. The Spartan envoys returned to Pylos and their arrival ended the temporary truce.

A few weeks later, with Cleon in command for Athens, the Spartan garrison was forced to surrender. "Of all the events of this war, this came as the greatest surprise to the Hellenic world; for men could not conceive that the Lacedaemonians would ever be induced by hunger or any other compulsion to give up their arms, but thought that they would keep them until they died, fighting as long as they were able; and they could not believe that those who had surrendered were as brave as those who had fallen." (*Ib.* 4.40.)

For the next four years Sparta and her allies directed all their efforts to the recovery of these prisoners. Finally they got them back "as part of the terms of the Peace of Nicias. There is no hint . . . that any of the Spartan prisoners opted to stay with the Athenians."

LATIN COST

This is what the authorities of a new high school in Maine had to face last fall: 40% of its freshman class of 72 wanted to study First-year Latin! The problem was not exactly out of the blue. In the spring pre-

ceding 29 youngsters had declared their honorable, but to the superintendent incredible, intentions. Accordingly a cubby-hole of a room in the new building had been assigned and the three texts on hand were considered ample.

But the twenty-nine displayed admirable Roman *constantia* and were fortunate enough to have a teacher with the same quality. The class refused to yield to the pressure for social arithmetic or general science; the teacher insisted on 26 new books and a larger classroom. . . . It is understood that such unanticipated expenditures made it impossible for the school shop to get a machine for grinding lawn mowers — surely tangible evidence of the cost of Latin study!

This account scarcely does justice to the delightfully ironic article on which it is based. Recommended reading is the "Accent on Living" feature, entitled "All Gaul," in *The Atlantic* (October 1953), by the well-known Maine editor and writer, John Gould. It and another AOL article about dog-education in the same issue provoked a rather caustic letter which was published in December. The letter was not from a Latin teacher. Three guesses.

NO PHIDIAS TOO FREQUENT

In the history of art Phidias stands alone. No other sculptor on record has a greater reputation; no other owes so much of his reputation to surviving contemporary judgment rather than extant stone evidence. Is his lasting reputation justified?

There can be no doubt about his influence, direct and indirect. His were the guiding hand and brain of the mid-fifth century beautification of Athens. His pupils worked with him and after him, and some of their attested originals, which survive in whole or in part, are among the art treasures of the world. But of the master himself there is nothing undisputedly genuine. Accordingly the report that a marble statue by Phidias has been found at Pompeii has aroused considerable interest and speculation in the world of art. (*Washington Post* and *Evening Star*, both of Jan. 16, 1954.)

But genuine or not, "What really matters now," the *Evening Star* editorialized (Jan. 21, 1954), "is that the example which he established still has force and power. For Phidias sponsored the movement which flowered in the finest representations of the human body ever developed by artistic techniques and routines."

STONEHENGE UNHINGED?

The puzzle of Stonehenge may be solved at last. Recently for the first time the faint outlines of a hilted dagger and a flanged axe were discovered on several of the monoliths. The dagger carving is "almost identical with an actual weapon unearthed many years ago at Mycenae," and the "axe sign is believed to be culturally comparable with the mystical double-axe insignia of the Minoans called the 'labrys.'"

Other English links with the Mycenaean civilization have been found in burial mounds near Salisbury and in King Arthur's Cornwall. By the radio carbon test charcoal found in the graves at Stonehenge dates around 1840 B.C. Shortly after this it is believed that the massive stones were raised, and that "about 1700 B.C. the two rings were built and the blocks at the top mortice jointed into place. Nobody knows how." (*The New York Times*, Dec. 30, 1953.)

Under this theory the axe and dagger carvings would be the architect's mark. . . . As we've always said — There's something Mycenaean about the British!

Latin to Riches

All this complaining about low salaries, and Mr. Sanderlin's wistful plaint in the March issue, are obviously without any foundation. We can no longer sympathize with the Chicago teachers who claim they have to drive taxis and tend bar on the side to maintain themselves at subsistence level. It is clear that we Latin teachers are just too extravagant and have no business sense. Read the news-item from the *Chicago Tribune* of Feb. 2, 1954 (below) and repent.

Estate of \$631,936
Left by Retired
Latin Teacher, 85

Grace E. Jackson, who retired 20 years ago as a Latin teacher in Hyde Park High School, left an estate of \$631,966 (sic), according to an inheritance tax return filed yesterday in County Court. Daniel Nagel, attorney for the estate, said she accumulated the fortune thru profitable investments of her savings. (She left over \$100,000 to Wellesley, her *alma mater*.)

John T. McCutcheon Jr., in the *Line o' Type* of the *Chicago Tribune*, tells readers that *rage, rave, reverie, rabies* "all come from the same Latin origin." C. M.

Democritus and Heraclitus

IN HIS *DIALOGUE, Philosophies for Sale*, Lucian represents Zeus and Hermes conducting an auction. After a number of trying transactions, they decide to put for sale together two philosophers, Heraclitus of Ephesus and Democritus of Abdera. A potential bidder is struck by the violent contrast presented by the two men, for one of them never stops laughing while the other weeps unceasingly. By questioning them, he attempts to learn the cause of their extraordinary behavior; but in the end, baffled and repelled by their unnatural conduct, he refuses to consider them. So they remain unsold.

This legendary representation of Heraclitus as the weeping philosopher and Democritus as the laughing philosopher has long had a fascination for people. There are, consequently, some vivid descriptions of the pair, for the most part by writers who lived centuries later. The phenomenon of a man whose unvarying attitude toward the human scene was expressed by his incessant weeping was curious enough, but it was even more remarkable when balanced by the case of a person whose sole and constant reaction to the same human scene was one of uncontrollable laughter.

It is, of course, entirely unreasonable, not to say very uncharitable, to subject a good legend to the scrutiny of a close examination. Certainly no one would wish to undermine the prestige of this excellent one. In discussing the subject here, I should like merely to make a few observations upon the way it has been used and how it has been interpreted, from what source it may have arisen, and then to suggest what I consider its real significance.

One interesting thing about the story—and incidentally, proof that it is a good one—is that a number of writers who mention it make no suggestion that there is anything abnormal about it. They use the legend merely to point

up the fact that since the time of the philosophers the world has produced many more situations of extreme pathos and that latter-day society offers infinitely more monstrous examples of folly, or as a late poem preserved in the Greek Anthology puts it:²

Weep for life, Heraclitus, much more than when thou didst live, for life is now more pitiable. Laugh now, Democritus, at life, far more than before; the life of all is now more laughable.

Juvenal's imagination fails him when he tries to think how Heraclitus would act if confronted with the cruelty of Rome of his own day, or Democritus if he could see the incredible foolishness of that topsy-turvy world.³

The introduction of Burton's famous *Anatomy of Melancholy* is written in the form of a long letter from Democritus Junior to the Reader. At the conclusion of this impressive epistle on the follies of man, the author has composed a Latin poem which I translate in part:

Well may you weep, Heraclitus, for that befits our wretched age; you see nothing but what is shameful, nothing but what is bitter. Go and laugh, Democritus, laugh as much as you please; you see nothing but inanity, nothing but stupidity. — Now we need (alas, the whole world is quite mad) a thousand men like Heraclitus, a thousand like Democritus.⁴

While these authors accept the Heraclitus-Democritus myth as something which is completely understandable, since the world is as it is, and find it a useful tale to emphasize conditions in their own age, other writers apparently consider the conduct sufficiently unusual to require some explanation. Lucian, for instance, has the two philosophers speak for themselves.⁵ When the prospective buyer in the dialogue asks Democritus why he is laughing, he replies, "Because to me it seemeth that all your affairs are laughable, and yourselves as well." The buyer breaks in, "What, are you laughing

at us all, and do you think nothing of our affairs?" Democritus answers, "Even so; for there is nothing serious in them, but everything is a hollow mockery, a drift of atoms, infinitude." When the bidder gives up in disgust, he turns to ask Heraclitus why he weeps. The philosopher replies, "Because I consider that the affairs of men are woeful and tearful, and there is naught in them that is not foredoomed; therefore I pity and grieve for men. And their present woes I do not consider great, but those to come in future will be wholly bitter; I speak of the great conflagrations and the collapse of the universe. It is for this that I grieve, and because nothing is fixed, but all things are in a manner stirred up into porridge, and joy and joylessness, wisdom and unwisdom, great and small are all but the same, circling about, up and down, and interchanging in the game of Eternity."

According to Lucian's version, then, Democritus laughs because life is all a hollow mockery, a mere drift of atoms. It is interesting to note that the laughter is not so much the overflowing of a gay temperament as the logical result of a materialistic philosophy.⁶ Likewise, the tears of Heraclitus are the outcome not of a woeful disposition but of a philosophy which sees everything doomed to perish and everywhere a strange paradox of the union of the opposites.

Seneca analyzes the situation in this way: "Whenever Heraclitus went forth from his house and saw all around him so many men who were living a wretched life—no, rather dying a wretched death—he would weep, and all the joyous and happy people he met stirred his pity; he was gentle-hearted, but too weak, and was himself one of those who had need of pity. Democritus, on the other hand, it is said, never appeared in public without laughing, so little did the serious pursuits of man seem serious to him."⁷

Turning to the Renaissance, one discovers a great variety of references

to the two philosophers.⁸ I should like to mention only one interesting remark by Rabelais. At the conclusion of a tongue-twisting discourse, Ponocrates and Eudemon burst into uproarious laughter. Finally, "Master Janotus began to laugh too, and all vied in hilarity.—Here was a picture of Democritus heraclitizing and Heraclitus democratizing—your jocund philosopher crying like your pessimist, your malcontent convulsed with merriment."⁹

Recently Professor Sarton of Harvard reduced the question to very simple terms: "Heraclitus was a sad man, for he saw the relativity and vanity of all things; we cannot hold fast to anything, because everything runs away. Popular tradition considered him the typical pessimist, as opposed to the typical optimist, Democritus."¹⁰

Artistically, *all* of these versions of the story, diverse in interpretation and mood as they are, have a certain validity in that they preserve a common idea of an extreme contrast in outlooks upon life. Of course, *not one* of them, if subjected to the test of historical accuracy, would prove tenable.¹¹ What, then, is the basis in fact for all these divergent accounts? Although the steps in the process of the creation and development of this legend have been largely obliterated, one can without too great imprudence, I venture to think, reconstruct in a general way, the pattern of its growth.

As I see it, the legend began with Democritus. Among his works as they are listed by Diogenes Laertius, there was a book entitled *peri euthumies, On Cheerfulness*.¹² This, Professor Hendrickson believes,¹³ may have been the germ from which the philosopher's reputation for possessing a sanguine temperament arose. In one short step from having a happy disposition, Democritus may have become the "dear droll" as Matthew Prior calls him.¹⁴ What more natural attributes could he have had than what Samuel Johnson refers to as his "cheerful wisdom and instructive

mirth."¹⁵ At any rate, by the time of Cicero, in whose *De Oratore* there occurs the first reference to the subject extant in ancient literature, Democritus is deferred to as an authority on the nature of laughter, presumably because he was given to a generous exercise of it himself.¹⁶ At some undetermined time, possibly at the hands of the Cynic-Stoic philosophers, that good-humored laughter took on a sinister aspect as it became sardonic and scornful. Thus, as a means for expressing contempt and ridicule, it was made to order for the use of satire. So it is that Juvenal considers Democritus a satirist along with himself when he says, "To condemn by a cutting laugh comes easy to us all."¹⁷ The milder-mannered Horace, whose aim in satire was to jolt people out of their follies by poking fun at them—*ridentem dicere verum*—says that Democritus would have laughed in derision at the stupid shows in the Roman theatre and that he would have watched the audience with far greater interest than the play.¹⁸ The idea of Democritus' cynical amusement at the comedy of life gained momentum and vividness in the telling. By the middle of the first century of our era it came to a dramatic climax in a wonderful tale of Democritus and Hippocrates. The story of the troubled concern of his fellow citizens of Abdera over Democritus' apparently irresponsible and often shocking reaction of laughter to everything, even to pain and distress, and their consultation with the great doctor over his sanity is too well known to repeat.¹⁹ The significance of the tale lies in the fact that Democritus has here become the very incarnation of laughter.²⁰

Just when Heraclitus first came to be placed beside Democritus to view the human drama, no one can tell. In all probability Heraclitus had been dead a number of years before Democritus was born.²¹ Yet it may well have been Heraclitus' own doctrine which was responsible, originally, for the linking of the two personalities. Here, again,

imagination must fill in some wide gaps. We know how extensively the writers of the popular *diatribai* in the Hellenistic period used material from the lives and sayings of the Greek philosophers to illustrate their themes.²² It is possible that one of these writers, impressed by Heraclitus' doctrine of the harmony of the opposites, may have wished to give some striking examples of it. Instead of the usual pairs of opposites, night and day, summer and winter, he may have had the idea of setting up two men, of the same profession, roughly contemporaries, to represent colorful extremes. The historical Heraclitus' depression of spirit, his *melancholia*,²³ might reasonably have been contrasted with the historical Democritus' cheerfulness, his *euthumia*. But we have seen that, in passing from history into legend, this *euthumia* had evolved into *gelōs*,²⁴ laughter. Now Heraclitus' melancholy would not make a proper contrast with laughter.²⁵ Hence the material had to be strained and his gloomy disposition had to be transformed into tearfulness, for *dakrua*, tears, was the familiar opposite of *gelōs*. Of course when Heraclitus is represented as shedding tears, one immediately departs from fact; for the learned philosopher apparently was something of a misanthrope and far from feeling sorry for human beings, he looked upon his fellow men with contempt for their stupidity.²⁶ Nevertheless, the tears became an unalterable feature of the legend. Although this contrast between the laughter of Democritus and the tears of Heraclitus had probably become a commonplace of the popular preachers some time earlier, the actual words appear in conjunction with the names of the philosophers for the first time in extant literature in a fragment of Sotion,²⁷ the teacher of Seneca. How rapidly this notion expanded, we have seen in the highly imaginative picture Seneca painted of Heraclitus' extreme pity and compassion for the human race. Juvenal asks how Heraclitus could ever find tears enough

to weep over poor foolish men.²⁸ As the laughter of Democritus had become unquenchable, so the tears of Heraclitus must flow from a never-failing spring.²⁹ In spite of the fact that some of these extravagant characterizations are manifestly untrue and quite inconsistent with what is known of the personalities of the philosophers, yet they serve a purpose and remain artistically satisfactory. It makes no difference if there never existed a laughing and a weeping philosopher; certainly they *ought* to have existed. The legend has broader implications than the sober facts.

What, then, is the significance of this popular legend? Is it only that mankind is divided into two essential types of individuals, those who are gifted with an extraordinarily objective point of view so that they can be amused at all the inconsistencies and incongruities displayed about them, and those who are so subjective in their attitude that they must suffer vicariously with all the misfortunes of their fellow men?³⁰ Is it simply a concrete illustration of the eternal cleavage suggested by Horace Walpole's famous aphorism, "The world is a comedy to those who think, a tragedy to those who feel."³¹ Undoubtedly, in the minds of some of the people who made use of it, the legend had no greater significance.

Yet merely to emphasize such an apparent dichotomy would be, I believe, to misconstrue the original intent of the legend; for, if I interpret it correctly, the dichotomy is purely illusory. Even though any initial connection of the story with Heraclitus' theory of the harmony of the opposites may have become obscured or even entirely forgotten, yet it seems to me that instinct was sound in those writers who felt nothing abnormal or unrealistic in the diverse reactions of the philosophers to the same scene. No doubt they saw in Heraclitus' tears only a magnified version of the ordinary, average man's sympathetic response to pain and evil,

and in Democritus' laughter an enlarged facsimile of Everyman's tendency to be amused at the foolish antics of his fellow men. In placing the philosophers side by side to observe life, they were actually illustrating Heraclitus' own words: "Men do not know how what is at variance agrees with itself. It is an attunement of opposite tensions, like that of the bow and the lyre."³² Just as the contrasting concepts of summer and winter, life and death, really represent not irreconcilable opposites, but two sides of the same process,³³ so Democritus and Heraclitus may be thought of as representing the obverse and reverse of the same coin. Transferring this idea to the individual, one may say that the whole man, the integrated being, partakes of the nature of both Heraclitus and Democritus.

As testimony to the reasonableness of this hypothesis, let us consider statements made by two distinguished men of the twentieth century. One could furnish no more forceful evidence for the existence of the truly mature and harmonious personality which is capable of both tears and laughter than the lives of two men eminent in widely separated spheres, the physician Sir William Osler and the philosopher George Santayana.

In an address to a group of medical students, Dr. Osler said, "Amid an eternal heritage of sorrow and suffering our work is laid, and this eternal note of sadness would be insupportable if the daily tragedies were not relieved by the spectacle of the heroism and devotion displayed by the actors.—The comedy, too, of life will be spread before you, and nobody laughs more often than the doctor at the pranks Puck plays upon the Titanias and the Bottoms among his patients. The humorous side is really almost as frequently turned towards him as the tragic."³⁴

Santayana, with the wisdom of old age, in his *Persons and Places*, comes to a similar conclusion in his shrewd analysis of his own character. He says,

"Nature sets definite standards for every living being; the good and the beautiful could not exist otherwise; and the failure or lapse of natural perfection in each is an irreparable evil. But it is, in every case, a ground of sorrow to the spirit, not of rage; for such failure or lapse is fated and involuntary. This sorrow in my case, however, has always been mitigated by the gift of laughter. Laughter helped me both to perceive those defects and to put up with them. Between the laughing and the weeping philosopher there is no opposition; the same facts that make one laugh make one weep. No wholehearted man, no sane art, can be limited to either mood."³⁵

In the Metropolitan Museum there is a painting by the Flemish master Jordaens which depicts a sad Heraclitus and a gay Democritus studying a globe of the world. This is one of numerous representations of the two philosophers made by Renaissance artists.³⁶ By far the most interesting is a highly unusual work by Rembrandt, now in Cologne. It is a self-portrait in which the artist has portrayed himself as Democritus painting a portrait of Heraclitus. The interpretation of the picture has long puzzled critics. Recently it has been suggested that Rembrandt chose this curious subject because he "wanted to identify Heraclitus with his own world of worries, blunders, and defeats; a world of his own making which nevertheless can be laughed away by the superior spirit of Democritus-Rembrandt."³⁷ Thus the sane artist is exorcising melancholy by recognizing it and painting the very personification of it. This is a most attractive idea, but I see a simpler explanation. May it not be that Democritus-Rembrandt was looking into a mirror and painting the Heraclitus that he saw there? For surely the real significance of the legend is that Heraclitus and Democritus are one.

CORA E. LUTZ

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NOTES

¹ Lucian ed. A. M. Harmon (Loeb), II.13, 473.

² Greek Anthology III. 9.148.

³ Juvenal, Sat. 10.28-52.

⁴ R. Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, 1600) I, 116.

⁵ Lucian, op. cit. 475-7.

⁶ It is interesting to note that Lucretius who was indebted to Democritus for much of his physics seems to have had no humor at all. (Why Miss Lutz? See *Lucret. 1.919f, 2.976ff, 3.776ff, 4.782f, 6.396f & 402f*; and I must require you to read my paper, "L. and the history of satire," *TAPA* 70.380-95 [Ed.].)

⁷ Seneca, *De Ira* 2.10.5. In a passage in his *De Tranquillitate Animi* (15.1-6), Seneca advises his readers to emulate Democritus rather than Heraclitus. We ought, he says, to bring ourselves to believe that the vices of the crowd are not hateful, but ridiculous, and to imitate Democritus rather than Heraclitus. "It is more human to laugh at life than to lament over it. Add, too, that he deserves better of the human race also who laughs at it than he who bemoans it; for the one allows it some measure of good hope, while the other foolishly weeps over things that he despairs of seeing corrected. And considering everything, he shows a greater mind who does not restrain his laughter than he who does not restrain his tears, since the laughter gives expression to the mildest of emotions, and deems that there is nothing important, nothing serious, not wretched either, in the whole outfit of life." Montaigne expresses essentially the same sentiment. Cf. *Essais* I.50.

⁸ Typical is the book by the French bishop H. P. Le Camus, of which I have seen a German translation entitled *Heraclitus und Democritus*, published in Nürnberg in 1652. As a frontispiece it has a fine engraving of two philosophers with Death between them, holding on his shoulders the sphere of the world on which one sees two categories of human beings, the joyful and the sorrowful.

In the eighteenth century the theme was used extensively for political and satirical pamphlets. An interesting example, published in London in 1723 is entitled *Democritus, the laughing Philosopher's Trip into England or Seven Days Amusements and contemplations; intermixt with uncommon reflections both serious and merry, on the Follies and Vices daily committed by both Sexes of all Religions and vocations, in the city of London and West minster*. It was "Written by a banish'd Hermit, lately arriv'd from Foreign countries." The Hermit was none other than Heraclitus turned Christian!

⁹ Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, tr. J. LeClerc (N.Y., 1944), I, 20.58.

¹⁰ G. Sarton, *A History of Science* (Cambridge, 1952), 240-1. W. C. Wright (*A Short History of Greek Literature* [N.Y., 1907], 147) calls Heraclitus "a fierce pessimist".

¹¹ J. Burnet (*Early Greek Philosophy* [London, 1908], 143-91) in separating historical facts from legend in the life of Heraclitus finds no authority for the tears. C. Bailey (*The Greek Atomists and Epicurus* [Oxford, 1928], 108-214) gives no support historically for the laughter of Democritus.

¹² Diogenes Laertius, 9.46. Seneca also mentions it as an excellent treatise (*De Tranquillitate Animi* 2.3).

¹³ G. L. Hendrickson, "Satura Tota Nostra Est" *CP* 22 (1927) 53.

¹⁴ *Democritus and Heraclitus*

Democritus, dear droll, revisit Earth,
And with our follies glut thy heightened
mirth:

Sad Heraclitus, serious wretch, return,
In louder grief our greater crimes to
mourn.

Between you both I unconcerned stand by;
Hurt, can I laugh? and honest, need I
cry?

¹⁵ *The Vanity of Human Wishes* 50.

¹⁶ *De Oratore* 2.58.235.

¹⁷ *Sat.* 10.31. Professor Handrickson (*op. cit.* 52) reminds us of the Greek equivalent of the word satire: "The one comprehensive term which embraces satire in all its forms and nuances is simply 'laughter' — *gelös*, *gelan*, the laughter of amusement and railing, of irony, of scorn, of anger, penetrating the mask of pretense, demolishing false and restoring true values by the solvent of reality."

It has been assumed rather generally that Democritus was a satirist. Cf. Rabelais, *Dizain* at the head of Book II. So, Erasmus considered Thomas More a Democritus. Cf. *The Praise of Folly*, Dedication to Thomas More, 2.

¹⁸ *Ep.* 2.1.194.9. Even Horace's gentle formula for satire seems unreasonable to Sir Thomas Browne. Cf. *Religio Medici*, Part II, sect. 4 (*The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed. Charles Sayle, II, 90-1.): It is as compleat a piece of madness to miscall and rave against the times, or think to recal men to reason, by a fit of passion: Democritus, that thought to laugh the times into goodness, seems to me as deeply Hypochondriac, as Heraclitus that bewailed them."

¹⁹ An interesting discussion of this apocryphal story, based upon some spurious letters purported to have been exchanged by Democritus and Hippocrates, is given by Professor Hendrickson (*op. cit.* 46-61). La Fontaine has a fable on Démocrite et les Abdéritains (8.26). C. M. Wieland has made the legend the basis for a very entertaining satirical novel entitled *Geschichte der Abderten*.

²⁰ An anonymous epigram in the Greek Anthology (VII.56) reads: So this was the cause of Democritus' laughter, and perchance he will say, 'Did I not say, laughing, that all is laughter? For even I, after my limitless wisdom and the long series of my works, lie beneath the tomb a laughing-stock.'

²¹ The *floruit* of Heraclitus is usually given as 500 B.C.; Democritus is thought to have lived from 460 to 370 B.C.

²² G. C. Fliske (*Lucilius and Horace* [Madison, 1920], 229) reminds us: "We must remember that the Cynic or Stoic popular preacher was a familiar contemporary figure on the streets of Augustan Rome." The diatribai were their stock-in-trade.

²³ Diogenes Laertius (9.6) credits Theophrastus with testimony to his melancholy.

²⁴ Democritus had become *ho gelasinos*. Cf. Aelian, *V.H.* 4.20 and Suidas *Démokritos*.

²⁵ It is interesting to note that Rabelais (*op. cit.* 5.25, 760) puts Heraclitus into the class of persons whom he labels "agelasts" — non-laughers — and says of him he "utterly dispised man's most natural inclination to laugh." George Meredith (*An Essay on Comedy and the Uses of the Comic Spirit* ed. Lane Cooper [N.Y., 1897], 76) suggests that it is but one step from being "agelastic" to becoming "misogelastic" — laughter-hating.

²⁶ A number of fragments from Heraclitus' works give this impression, cf. *Fr.* 114: "The Ephesians would do well to hang themselves, every grown man of them, and leave the city to beardless lads; for they have cast out Hermodorus, the best man among them, saying, 'We will have none who is best among us; if there be any such, let him be so elsewhere and among others.'"

²⁷ Cf. Stobaeus, *Flor.* 20.53 (ed. O Hense, III, 550).

²⁸ *Sat.* 10.32.

²⁹ Among others, Sir Thomas Browne takes this extreme view; in speaking of Heraclitus, he says, he "wept preposterously, and made a hell on earth; for rejecting the consolations of life, he

passed his days in tears, and the uncomfortable attendants of hell." (*Pseudoxia Epidemica* VII, chap. 16; ed. Sayle, III, 59.)

³⁰ Henri Bergson (*Laughter* tr. C. Brereton and F. Rothwell [N.Y., 1913], 4) offers the theory that "in a society composed of pure intelligences there would probably be no more tears, though perhaps there would still be laughter; whereas highly emotional souls, in tune and unison with life, in whom every event would be sentimentally prolonged and reechoed, would neither know nor understand laughter." Hence, even in a hypothetical philosophical millennium there would still exist a difference between the two types of men.

³¹ Letter to Sir Horace Mann, 1770. This is, of course, the essence of the old French proverb: *Qui sent, pleure, qui pense, rit.* ("The whole tragedy and comedy of life" is in Plato, *Philibus* 50 B. [ed.1])

³² *Fr.* 45.

³³ Cf. J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy* 106: "We have seen that Herakleitos meant to say, not that day was night or that night was day, but that they were two sides of the same process, namely, the oscillation of the 'measures' of fire and water, and that neither would be possible without the other."

³⁴ Dr. Harvey Cushing, *The Life of Sir William Osler* (Oxford, 1925), I, 413. In another place (II, 304), Dr. Cushing quotes from an article by Osler in which he touches upon the subject of laughter. "There is a form that springs from the heart, heard every day in the merry voice of childhood, the expression of a laughter-loving spirit that defies analysis by the philosopher, which has nothing rigid or mechanical in it, and it totally without social significance. Bubbling spontaneously from the artless heart of child or man, without egotism and full of feeling, laughter is the music of life. After his magical survey of the world in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Burton could not well decide *feat Heraclitus an rideat Democritus*, whether to weep with the one or laugh with the other, and at the end of the day this is often the mental attitude of the doctor; but once with ears attuned to the music of which I speak, he is ever on the side of the great Abderite."

³⁵ *Persons and Places* (N.Y., 1944), 159-60. What immediately follows this passage is also pertinent. "In me this combination seems to be readier and more pervasive than in most people. I laugh a great deal, laugh too much, my friends tell me; and those who don't understand me think that this merriment contradicts my disillusioned philosophy. They, apparently, would never laugh if they admitted that life is a dream, that men are animated automata, and that the forms of good and beautiful are as various and evanescent as the natural harmonies that produce them. They think they would collapse or turn to stone, or dispair and commit suicide. But probably they would do no such thing; they would adapt themselves to the reality and laugh. They might even feel a new zest in living, join some bold adventure, become heroes, and think it glorious to die with a smile for the love of something beautiful."

³⁶ The most complete account of the iconography of the Democritus-Heraclitus theme in art is found in an article by Werner Weisbach, "Der sogenannte Geograph von Velazquez und die Darstellungen des Demokrit und Heraclit" in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (Berlin, 1928), 49.141-158. Jordaens himself painted at least three versions of the theme. Cf. Max Rooses, *Jacob Jordaens—His Life and Work* (N.Y., 1908), 30.

³⁷ W. Stechow, "Rembrandt-Democritus", Detroit Institute of Arts, *Art Quarterly*, VII (1944), 234. For another interpretation, see R. Hamann, *Rembrandt* (Berlin, 1948), 124.

NOTES

Horace's Ode III, 1: *Odi profanum vulgus . . .*

FOR SOME time it has seemed to me that this ode has strange overtones, and in the following note I have sketched some impressions that may be of interest to other people too.

The general drift of the poem is quite clear. Horace warns us against excessive ambition, and urges us to enjoy a modest life. The poem seems to be adequately summed up by the concluding lines:

cur valle permutem Sabina
divitias operosiores?

A quiet life in the country is pleasing, and Horace's doctrine seems comfortable. If we listen closely, however, we can detect, I believe, a faint but steady dissonance.

The first word of the poem is *odi*, a verb which extends, by implication, to the prominent as well as to the lowly: the rule of kings is dreadful (*timendorum*), or at least can be dreadful. Such power reflects something more universal, for above the kings is Jove. Although Horace cannot be accused of impiety, he presents the rule of Jove (*clari*) as gained by *Giganteo triumpho*, and as *cuncta supercilicio moventis*. (Stanza 2.)

The suggestion is one of force, I find, and a force that is made to seem aimless: I cannot escape the feeling that line 16 (*omne capax movet urna nomen*) suggests an indiscriminate shuffling of human beings.

The adumbration of aimless force is given firmer significance in stanzas 5 and 6, where a sharp contrast is drawn between the viciously wealthy and the virtuously modest.

Rewards do not necessarily correspond with virtues. Horace does not say that they *never* correspond, but he presents them as being at odds and

moreover implies that they must often be so, given a greedy society in a universe of amoral force. Such are the intimations of the first six stanzas.

The next six stanzas suggest that it is not sufficient to withdraw from the aimless turmoil of society: one must also expect little from a soil that is subjected to a universal hostility: hail, wet, drought, summer, winter, rising or setting stars—all conditions and all seasons are hostile. The world of nature as well as the world of man is ruthless. Nature mocks man's absurdly proud efforts, as in the wry hyperbole of:

contracta pisces aequora sentiunt
iactis in altum molibus: hic frequens
caementa demittit redemptor
cum famulis dominus terrae
fastidiosus. (Vss. 33-7.)

Jove, society, nature—all are capable of careless hostility. There is a faint overtone of despair, almost lost above the firm delicacy of the main melody. But it is there, I believe. Horace seems to warn the reader: you are surrounded by hostility; use favorable words; do not say anything that brings bad luck; observe a reverent silence: *favete linguis*.

And therein lies one answer to the question he raises at the end of the poem. Why indeed change? It would be dangerous to leave the countryside, and silly to wish for profit.

A strange song to sing *virginibus puerisque*. Horace knows that he sings *carmina non prius audita*.

W.M. SYLVESTER

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quod si quis vera vitam ratione gubernet,
divitiae grandes homini sunt vivere
parce
aequo animo; neque enim est umquam
penuria parvi. Lucr. 5.1117-9

A MODERN PARALLEL

patriam tamen obruit olim
gloria paucorum et laudis titulique
cupido/ haesuri saxis cinerum custodi-
bus ad quae/ discutienda valent sterilis
mala robora fici,/ quandoquidem data
sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulcris.

Juvenal 10.142-6

*naturam expellas furca tamen usque
recurret/ et mala perrumpet furtim
fastidia victrix.

Horace *Epist.* 1.10.24f
*ex fici tantulo grano Cicero *Sen.* 15.52

*pelle hederam tumulo, mihi quae
pugnante corymbo
molli contortis alligat ossa comis.

Prop. 4.7.79f

Wellesley College

PORCUPINUS

PORCUPINUS RECTIUS PORCUS SPINOSUS appellatur. Pellis non mollis est sed horrida ex setis spinisque composita. Porcus verus non est. Nomen ex Europa ad nos advenit, ubi porcupini terram fodunt. Porcupinus Americanus similis est sed grandior, ut decet animal Americanum. Terram non fodit sed in arboribus maxime habitat.

Civis bonus est. Nemini invidet. Nemini nocet. Amator pacis est. Solus esse mavult. Humi deprehensus non repugnat sed in globum se colligit, spinis undique erectis. Nemo tangit eum impune.

Fama est eum spinas iacere posse sed falsa. Ita res se habet. Canis stultus eum mordere conatur. Non nocet porcupino sed sibi. Spinae acutae sunt. Facile nasum caninum ineunt, difficulter exent. Forcipe extrahendae sunt. O miserum canem! Saepe tamen canis idem iterum faciet. Experientia eum non docet.

NORMAN W. DEWITT

Fight it if you will, but it is the tender shoot of the fig-tree — no bigger than a baby's little finger — which will win in the long run . . . meanwhile the roots will be boring their way through the wall. . . . Gradually faint fissures hardly visible to the naked eye, fine as gossamer cobwebs, will cover the walls from roof to basement. These will, by and by, extend and expand. The fissures will broaden into cracks allowing infiltration of water. . . . A seed no bigger than a grain of mustard, nurtured by the winds and the rains, brings down a large edifice in the space of thirty years. Sudhin N. Ghose, *The Vermilion Boat* (Macmillan, 1953)

* Passages supplied by me to balance. [Ed.]

DOROTHY M. ROBATHAN

From Thomas Cutt, Wayne University

Dear Professor Murley:

Recently, as I was rummaging through a sheaf of miscellaneous mementoes, I came across a poem which I have treasured for years, and which I feel others would be glad to share with me. I am subscribing a copy, in the hope that you may see fit to publish it.

The poem came to me as a gift in the very best classical tradition. When I had finished my doctoral dissertation at Chicago, *Meter and Diction in Catullus' Hendecasyllabics*, I sent a copy to the teacher who had inspired my undergraduate work, Professor Gilbert Norwood, for many years Director of Classical Studies at the University of Toronto. He had, apparently, been in England, and upon his return he read the dissertation, which contained many references to Norden, Meyer, de Labriolle et al. The spontaneity of his reaction is reflected in the typically Catullan hendecasyllabics which follow:

Tandem per mare Atlanticum revectus
Nostram strenuus en scholam petivi,
Invenique tuas, amice, chartas,
Doctas, Iuppiter, et laboriosas.
Hoc est quod faciat tibi invidere
Nordenum, Meyerum, de Labriolleum
Et quoscumque sinu fovet Chicago
Intentos studiis Catullianis.
Si quando incideris tamen poetae
Campos Elysius perambulanti,
Vitato, precor, abditoque te ipsum,
Ne rixam moveat vel inter umbras
Novisque hendecasyllabis abundet:
'Hunc plus quam ipse ego de meo libello
Scire, quoque modo modos tenerem?
Vae docto nimis improboque homullo!'

G. N.

Xenophon's Political Idealism

IN AN EXAMINATION of Xenophon's chief political writings, we find an interesting and provocative concept of human political institutions that deserves careful contemplation and produces fruitful conclusions. Writing in those hectic days of the early fourth century, Xenophon offers for consideration some principles of human activity which help restore an order and formality to life, an order and formality which Xenophon so dearly loved. He was an aristocrat, of course. Yet we do not feel that he is confined by his aristocratic viewpoint, for Xenophon, at his very best, writes from a higher and loftier viewpoint than the aristocratic would seem to allow. He is more than anything else an idealist, but an idealist in the finer sense of the word—not a blind optimist, but a realistic believer in human progress and human possibilities. He is interested in mankind as such, and if his philosophy does not attain those metaphysical heights attained by other Socratics, it is more because he sought a functional philosophy for the betterment of man, rather than a hypothetical philosophy to which mankind need do subservience. His thought is, "We must ask ourselves whether the government of man is after all an impossible or even a difficult task, provided one set about it in the right way."

Xenophon's idealism — if we mean by idealism the ordinarily impractical —may be found in two ideas: one, that government is not difficult if the leaders are wise; and two, that wise leadership is attainable. That is not to say that we consider these two ideas impractical or ultimately unmanifestable, but certainly they are speculative hypotheses in the light of existing political traditions or even in the light of the political traditions of Xenophon's own age. Certainly we recognize in the description of Cyrus a panegyric unbridled. The Cyrus of the *Cyropaedia* nev-

er existed, we may suppose, in such crystal-clear and rational perfection. But the concept of Cyrus as such a model of ethical and intellectual accomplishment existed in Xenophon's mind, and it is on this level that we can begin to see the true nature of Xenophon's political ideal. It is in man's very ability to conceive the comparatively perfect that the hope for a better world abides. Xenophon's concept of Cyrus is on a plane with other such concepts as that of Buddha in the Orient; St. Francis in the West; Napoleon and Gandhi in modern and recent times. It is on a plane with Carlyle's various heroes.

On the basis of this ideal concept of perfection, Xenophon as political philosopher is confronted with two possibilities — either this perfectness can be envisioned in an ideal system to which mankind conforms, or it can be envisioned in ideal man, the master of all systems. For Xenophon, idealism focuses in the latter. Xenophon's thesis is basically this: laws, governments, administrations do not constitute the identity of the political man, but rather it is in man himself who makes or breaks his political and social relationships. For Xenophon, the state is as good as the best man in it and as poor as the worst. Better government for Xenophon must come as a result of better men. The best government was that which produced the greatest number of good men. Even Xenophon's ideal state — that of Persia in the *Cyropaedia* — collapses and degenerates when Cyrus dies, for it was Cyrus, not his bureaucracy or pyramiding administrative system, that assured his state of its stability.

And in the political thesis of Xenophon, centering as it does around the individual ruler rather than in a complex structure such as envisioned by Plato in the *Republic*, Xenophon's political ideal is a relative stability of

conflicting interests under the supposedly magnanimous rule of one authoritative person. His ideal does not seem to include that refinement of theoretical law with which Plato concerned himself. The hope for improvement in the political situation of mankind lies in man himself, in the individual character of man, not in the philosophical political structure conceived by man.

It is easy to compare Xenophon with Plato in the field of political philosophy of course. Some even consider the *Cyropaedia* as a deliberately constructed answer to Plato's *Republic*, but I would think this dubious in that the *Cyropaedia* is the climax of a whole general concept rather than an exceptional or deviant piece in the opera of Xenophon. Certainly there is no essential thesis held in common by the two Socratics. Both conceive the ideal, but whereas Plato sees the ideal state, Xenophon sees the ideal man. And though Xenophon was an Athenian aristocrat himself, his thinking on equality is more modern than that of Plato. Between Cyrus and his lowest slave there is of course a vast difference, and yet that difference is a graded one. There are not the sharp class distinctions which exist in the *Republic*. Men are yet identifiable individually in the *Cyropaedia*, whereas in the *Republic* men are identified by their class and category rather than by their own deeds and merits. Whereas Plato is willing to sacrifice individuality for the welfare of the state, Xenophon is more willing to improve and accentuate individuality for the benefit of the state.

It is Xenophon's thesis of individuality that labels him even in his most Spartiate moments as an Athenian. Xenophon sets forth, more than any political thesis, a political attitude—he is less interested in a system than he is in the person administering any system, and he is more interested in the members of society than he is in the state itself. And it seems that this belief in the individual permeates all of Xenophon's work. The democratic experi-

ment in the *Anabasis* had its effect in establishing or confirming Xenophon's belief that man—individually—is potentially dynamic; that individual men can, if they are so desirous, accomplish the seemingly miraculous, even if these individual men are gathered in groups of ten thousand. Individuality is indeed at the bottom of Xenophon's very cosmopolitanism.

This belief in individuality does not mean, however, that Xenophon did not believe in governmental structures. Rather he believed in their non-absoluteness. That Xenophon believed in a plastic governmental structure is evidenced in his temporary acceptance of the democratic principle during the period recorded in the *Anabasis*. And we cannot honestly label the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks as an imaginary maneuver conceived and manipulated on paper by Xenophon, for we cannot doubt the fact that ten thousand Greeks did participate in the battle of Cunaxa and did at last come upon the Black Sea after a hazardous and demanding trip across a large portion of Asia. Fictionalized as it is, the catabasis must be accepted as an historical fact and we are inclined to believe that only such a cooperative spirit as Xenophon recorded would permit the successful mission. And certainly Xenophon himself, as Edith Hamilton says, "became as democratic a leader as there could possibly be of the freest democracy conceivable." Many critics have pointed out, and unfortunately emphasized, the fact that Xenophon was an aristocrat and did prefer Spartan totalitarianism to Athenian democracy—but Xenophon was actually more broad-minded politically than such a simple and one-sided view of him would indicate. When Xenophon felt democracy to be functional for the greatest good of the greatest number of people he whole-heartedly participated in its operation. His failure to support consistently the democratic structure is in line with his general failure to support any one structure whether it be demo-

ocracy or tyranny, monarchy or oligarchy. As Xenophon himself says in the *Cyropaedia*, "We have had occasion before now to reflect how often democracies have been overthrown by the desire for some other type of government, how often monarchies and oligarchies have been swept away by the movements of the people, how often would be despots have fallen in their turn, some at the outset by one stroke, while those who have maintained their rule for ever so brief a season are looked upon with wonder as marvels of sagacity and success." Xenophon's sense of the mutability of institutions lifts him of course above the dangerous commitments to an absolute form of government which other less idealistic philosophers have maintained, such as Rousseau, Montesquieu, Locke, and even Marx.

Because he did not put his faith in structures and institutions, the appearance of governmental structures in Xenophon may seem to raise problems. The Persian hierarchy in the Babylon of Cyrus, for instance, disturbs us in its apparent subordination of individual will to the dictator. Yet it is in Xenophon's very disconcern with the structural side of politics that he does not create a pleasing institution. For Xenophon, institutionalism really doesn't matter; and because it doesn't matter to him, he creates what seems to us an arbitrary and unwholesome administration. We must remember again, however, that Xenophon himself admits when the ideal man is removed the institution — pleasing or displeasing — collapses.

If man then and not the structure makes for the ideal political situation, the question arises as to what constitutes and what makes the ideal man. This question is answered in a methodology of ethics carefully enunciated by Xenophon throughout his work. On the whole, either Xenophon believes that ethics is the ultimate connective among men — in preference to social and governmental structures — or he

believes that ethics is the best means toward the success of individuals within or beyond a social or governmental structure. But regardless of whether for Xenophon ethics is a means or an end, it certainly is a basis of his idealism.

According to Xenophon man may be personally improved by a certain syllogism of action as it were. First is the improvement of the physical body, though there are no absolute standards as to what constitutes the body *par excellence*, for note Cyrus' attitude toward eunuchs, considering them physically acceptable, and towards the aged, considering that they should be revered despite their physical incapacities. Secondly, subservience of the body to the mind by practicing near-asceticism at times, general temperance always. Cyrus himself was non-indulgent in some of the pleasures he tolerated in others. Thirdly, application of our mental faculties for the accomplishment of deeds advantageous to the largest number of mankind. It is true that in these deeds an immediate disadvantage may be caused for certain groups, but Xenophon's idea is to incorporate the disadvantages into an increasingly greater advantageousness. In Xenophon's methodology of ethics we see that prowess, rhetoric, ever morality are but utilitarian functions in the acquisition of an ideal truth and beauty which Xenophon seems to incorporate under the general term of honor. It is on this level that Xenophon may seem to step from functional political philosophy into idealistic ethical philosophy, but rather this is really his political philosophy continued to its widest aspect and seen in its broadest implications.

Xenophon's ethical idealism is augmented by his faith in the heroic. It is that element in human nature capable of rising above the tawdry, the vulgar, the mundane that inspires Xenophon to idealize on the possibilities of man's happiness if man could be trained or coerced into a life of ethical and moral

responsibilities. He is aware, however, of the limitations of the untrained and he tolerates, therefore, a type of trickery, not to deceive as much as to guide, until the time comes, we dare assume, when men no longer need the trickeries, or even the forced disciplines, but will be able to maintain themselves in a type of ethical or moral anarchy such as various political philosophers have advocated in the course of Western culture. The trickery of Cyrus is however not so much a falseness as it is a superiority in thinking. It is manipulation rather than actual deception.

By uniting Xenophon's belief in the individual and his methodology of ethics we see the resultant ideal ruler, who is no more of course than the ideal man elected by his own merits to the position of administration. Xenophon sums up this ideal ruler by having Cyrus say, "All of them (men in general) hold to it that the ruler should differ from his subjects only by the splendour of his banquets, the wealth of gold in his coffers, the length and depth of his slumbers, and his freedom from trouble and pain. But my views are different: I hold that the ruler should be marked out from other men, not by taking life easily but by his forethought and his wisdom and his eagerness for work." Thus Xenophon's ethical system is an active, vigorous one, not a passive, wholly mental one. It involves the entire being, not only the imagination and intellect. It involves a man's physical body and his way of life. So resultful can the application of ethics be that it is to be used in all our relationships. "Diplomacy is the way to settle disputes, not war. . . . The only way really to conquer a country is through generosity." Here then we see an example of Xenophon's desire for ethics to be a way of government, a way of life, functioning in a realistic and fruitful manner. Which leads us into the whole general subject and idea that Xenophon is not only a political idealist, but also a political realist.

In the dialogue on tyranny, we cer-

tainly see that Hiero is not an adequate ruler in his present state of mind and Xenophon can picture the ruler from such a viewpoint. And even Cyrus is portrayed "governing men's caprices," for Xenophon is aware of the present capricious nature of man's habitual life. And Xenophon has Socrates say, at one time, "It is foolish that the magistrates of the city should be chosen by the bean, when no one would dream of drawing lots for a pilot, a mason, a flute player, or any craftsman at all, whose faults are far less harmful than those which are committed in the government." We begin to see then that Xenophon is a realist in looking at today, an idealist in looking at tomorrow. He differentiates between the political affairs of men as they are and as they might be. His idealism is a wise idealism, really an optimistic realism, a synthesis as it were of fact and fancy that suggests another major significance of Xenophon's political thinking.

There is a dichotomy in Xenophon's idealism, but it is a resolved one. The dichotomy in Xenophon's political philosophy is symbolized in those two key cities of late fifth-century Greece — Athens and Sparta. Connected as he was with both of these centers of Hellenic politics, Xenophon reflects the particular political nature of each and in the final instance synthesizes their seemingly incompatible theses in an amazingly rational and comprehensive dialectic. For Xenophon, Sparta represented the preparation of the individual, Athens the function of the individual, with as we shall see the synthesis of these two in the idealized Persian state. Xenophon himself is an Athenian become Spartan, a Spartan forever Athenian, and we witness the influence of both throughout his life. Why he gave up Athens for Sparta may be supposedly answered in that he did distrust a democracy of undisciplined men. At least the Greek mercenaries had been disciplined physically; and after the death of Cyrus they were dis-

ciplined by necessity, instructed by expediency on how to cooperate and how to think communally in an individual manner, to think individually for the communal welfare. It was not so much for what Athens stood that displeased Xenophon — rather it was what Athens was. As he says in the *Memorabilia*, "The Athenians are in a state of decadence and this decadence is moral, political, and military all at the same time." Of course it must be admitted that Xenophon did not find in the real Sparta what he philosophically sought. But having turned toward Sparta once, it was difficult for Xenophon to turn again ever to the polis of his birth. What he did not find in Athens or Sparta, Xenophon attributed idealistically to the Persia of Cyrus, the Elder.

And we may then see Xenophon's political thinking in this general way. Xenophon, believing in the comparative perfection, applies this idea of perfection to the affairs of mankind. Not denying what mankind is today, in the very chaos of his institutions, Xenophon idealistically envisions what man can become, what sort of political organizations he can establish. Xenophon's greatest belief rests in the individual, who, having become ethically disciplined, is now master of his political affairs and will use institutions only to the extent that they are functional to his purposes. The purpose of the ethical man is of course justice and honor. The ultimate desire it seems of Xenophon is for every man to be virtuous and then the political affairs will rest on an individual basis. Realistically realizing that all men are not virtuous and disciplined, he projects the idea of one ideal ruler who will put into effect such devices of justice as law, diplomacy, generosity, so that the over-all results for mankind will be similar to those which would be if each man were his own ruler.

Xenophon needs to be re-evaluated, it seems, in the light of a more careful and imaginative examination of his po-

litical philosophy. The few modern readers of Xenophon are usually limited to a school-day acquaintance with the *Anabasis*. And even those readers and scholars who examine the entire corpus of Xenophon's work often find Xenophon easily categorized as an unexciting Athenian gentleman engaged in rhetorical reports of second-rate intellectual ideas even if of first-rate adventures. It is unfortunate that travelers in Hellenic scholarship so frequently are overwhelmed by Plato and Aristotle as to overlook the broad, impressive aspects of Xenophon's perspective.

Yet it is not surprising that Xenophon's political thoughts have not pervaded Western thought in any active form. As one commentator says, "The world has not yet caught up with Xenophon," thinking I believe of the broad humanism of his philosophy. Xenophon definitely gives food for thought to the modern thinker; for though perhaps not deliberately concerning himself with what we entitle universals, he did touch upon some basic and fundamental principles either existent or attainable in human nature. He looked at man as he is and was and also looked at man as man might be. He suggests nothing that could not actually be put into practice if man so wanted. Nor does he ask man to give up any such principles of freedom and law and justice, but he does suggest that mankind adopt a way of life that will free him from the frustrating flux of such arbitrary creations as law and institutions inevitably are. In our own day, similar perhaps to the political confusion of Xenophon's own era, we might do well to consider the propositions expounded by Xenophon and by seeing in Xenophon the composite of the best in Greek character and activity, reinstitute into our own lives the finest part of the Greek spirit, a return so to speak to a moral classicism as well as to an intellectual classicism which we have already known, and by adopting this

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In Non-Classical Periodicals

Edited by William C. Grummel

COMPARATIVE LITERATURE 5 (1953).—(Spring: 105-116) Robert B. Heilman, "Alcestis and The Cocktail Party." Following the lead that Eliot has given about the source of his play Heilman comes to the conclusion that "to look at *The Cocktail Party* steadily in the light of *Alcestis* is to see some of its lineaments a little more clearly (and, conversely, the Eliot play provides a perspective from which we can discern potentialities, perhaps unexpected, in the Euripides play)." (125-136) W. B. Stanford, "Ulyssian Qualities in Joyce's Leopold Bloom." A study which attempts to consider "just how much the Dublin Ulysses ethically resembles the Ithacan Odysseus." (97-104) Bernard Weinberg, "From Aristotle to Pseudo-Aristotle." "I propose to trace briefly here what happened to Aristotle's theory beginning in Italy in 1548 and ending in France with the neo-classical theory of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century." (Summer: 213-234) Jane Davidson Reid, "Eurydice Recovered." A discussion of Rilke's "Orpheus. Euridice. Hermes" and Edith Sitwell's "Erydice."

DALECTICA 6 (1953) (Sept.: 210-221) Simon Moser, "Theorie und Erfahrung bei Platon und Aristoteles." An attempt to discover whether the Greeks used *theory* and *experience* in the same sense as we.

DIogenes 1 (1953) (Summer: 89-111) D. R. Gillie, "Toward a Policy of Humanism." Discusses some of the problems which were the subjects of papers at the various congresses of scholars; special emphasis is given to the discussions of the newly formed International Federation of Associations for Classical Studies. (101-111) Olof Gigon, "Ancient Philosophy: New Tasks." Points out in some detail the problems with which a student of ancient philosophy might well concern himself.

JOURNAL OF AESTHETICS AND ART CRITICISM 9 (1952) (Dec.: 360-389) Jane Davidson Reid, "Leda. Twice Assaulted." Discusses the handling of an ancient myth by Yeats and Rilke. (Sept.: 21-45) P. A. Michelis, "Neo-Platonic Philosophy and Byzantine Art." "Plotinian philosophy is inevitably misinterpreted when applied to explain early Christian art. . . ."

LANGUAGE 29 (1953) (July-Sept.: 229-230) Jules Bloch, "Prákit cia, Latin quidem." ". . . on peut imaginer qu'à l'époque moy-

enne cia, et plus tard ses dérivés, ont été plus répandus dans l'Inde aryenne que les témoignages ne le révèlent." (293-296) George Melville Bolling, "Three Puzzles in the Language of the *Iliad*." The three puzzles are: (1) the derivation of the name of Odysseus, (2) competition between epi with genitive and dative constructions in situations such as might lead in English to phrases like *to lie on the ground*, to *lay something on the ground*, (3) athetizing of lines 396-418 in the third book of the *Iliad*. (297-300) Joshua Whatmough, "Epigraphica." Discussion of texts chosen from CIL 13 for their linguistic interest.

THE LIBRARY 7 (1952) (September: 201-210) William White, "A. E. Housman, An Annotated Checklist, Additions and Corrections: III." ". . . as my own bibliography of Housman is still incomplete, the present list is intended as a third supplement." (December: 275-281) H. C. Fay, "Chapman's Text Correction in his *Iliads*." A study of Chapman's foibles as a reviser. "Indeed, he was throughout on the watch for passages that he might improve by rewriting. But except when he set out on a piece of rewriting, his revision was done without reference to the Greek or Latin original, or even to his own earlier corrections of the press."

MIND 62 (1953) (January: 43-64) C. J. de Vogel, "On the Neoplatonic Character of Platonism and the Platonic Character of Neoplatonism." Discusses the direct predecessors of Plotinus, the interpretation of later Platonism, and that of the intermediate stages.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES 68 (1953) (March: 157-159) Clifton C. Cherpak, "Some Senecan Analogies in the Anonymous *Epistola Moral a Fabio*." The flavor of this work is distinctly Horatian, but it is influenced by Seneca's letters to Lucilius.

NEUE RUNDSCHAU 64 (1953).—(No. 1: 45-55) Hermann Broch, "Die Heimkehr des Vergil." A sympathetic and imaginative account of Vergil's musing on his life and work. (No. 2: 175-193) Franz Altheim, "Tacitus." Insists on the particularity of classical works and the uniqueness of Tacitus as a writer of history.

NEW SCHOLASTICISM 27 (1953).—(April: 161-175) Leo A. Foley, S.M., "The persistence of the Aristotelian Physical Method."

... we can investigate the Aristotelian laws of motion, and see their fulfilment in later cosmogonies from Newton to Einstein." (July: 247-279) Charles J. O'Neil, "Aristotle's Natural Slave Reexamined." "We have no need to exculpate, to attack, or to defend. But, of course, if we find that Aristotle's natural slave is necessary to the principles, to the *data*, or the method of Aristotle's moral philosophy, our reexamination . . . may well teach us something about moral philosophy itself." (July: 305-334) Ignatius Brady O.F.M., "The New Aristotle." Discusses Fr. Zürcher's thesis that the Platonic dialogues have been retouched by later Platonists and that the Aristotelian *corpus* is largely the revision of Theophrastus.

QUARTERLY REVIEW 291 (1953).—(July: 285-300) The Lord Soulsbury, G.C.M.C., "Ancient and Modern Oratory." A discussion of ancient orators and oratory and "the lessons to be learnt from the classics by those who are called upon to speak in public."

REVIEW OF ENGLISH STUDIES 4 (1953).—(April: 109-121) Norman Callan, "Pope's *Iliad*: A New Document." Mr. Callan shows that the proof-sheets of the first eight books of Pope's *Iliad* bound as a single volume and corrected by Pope himself—recently discovered in Paris—throws light on Pope's methods as a poet and translator and on hitherto obscure historical problems.

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY 17 (1953).—(Fall: 326-339) Benjamin Farrington, "Second Thoughts on Epicurus." Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 5.925-1457 is interpreted according to Karl Marx. "Marx [in his dissertation] thus prepares the way for us to regard Epicurus primarily as a social thinker."

SEWANEE REVIEW 61 (1953).—(Winter: 1-14) T. S. Eliot, "Vergil and the Christian World." "What interests me to consider are those characteristics of Vergil which render him peculiarly sympathetic to the Christian mind." Vergil just falls short of being *anima naturaliter Christiana* because "Love is never given . . . the same significance as a principle of order in the human soul, in society, and in the universe that *pietas* is given; and it is not Love that causes *fatum*, or moves the sun and the stars." (Winter: 109-119) Robert F. Goheen, "Burbank with a Baedeker: The Third Stanza (Thematic Intension through Classical Allusion)." Discusses allusion to Ovid,

Horace, and Vergil and paraphrases "the meanings within the third stanza of *Burbank* for which classical poetry and thought are elucidative."

THOMIST 16 (1953).—(January: 82-117; April: 217-267) Anton-Hermann Chroust, "The Philosophy of Law of the Epicureans." A general discussion of the sort of society which produces a quietist philosophy is followed by a detailed study of the Epicurean philosophy of law and a sketch of various philosophic traditions which may have modified it.

WORD 9 (1953).—(April: 12-15) Howard Stone, "Cushioned Loan Words." Discussion of the tendency to cushion or qualify new or unusual medical terms among the compilers and translators of Middle French medical writings. (August: 152-161) André Martinet, "A project of Transliterating Classical Greek." Greek is the only language quoted in non-Latin garb in contemporary linguistic practice. This is represented by some 'modernists', but there is some doubt about their motives. The author is motivated by considerations of economy. For those interested a sample text from Plato's *Kritón* is given at the end of the article.

GRECIAN FROM BELL BUCKLE

INSTRUCTOR IN CLASSICS at Soule College, Murfreesboro, Tennessee when she was only sixteen, Mabel Kate Whiteside had just been graduated from the famous Webb School (for boys) at Bell Buckle, Tennessee, where the local girls admitted on sufferance were expected to make even better "marks" than the boys in order to demonstrate their fitness as students at an institution so exacting in its standards and so firm in its emphasis on mathematics, Greek, and Latin. Having made the grade there, and also in two subsequent years of teaching at Soule, Miss Whiteside went to the University of Chicago for further study and received the Bachelor's degree in 1902; her advanced degrees, A.M. and Ph.D., obtained in later years, were likewise from that university. In 1904 she came to Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Virginia, as an instructor in Latin and Greek, and she has been a member of the faculty there ever since. Again she has more than made the grade, having become the founder and head of the Randolph-

Macon Greek Department, which, by reason of her successful work, was separately established in 1934 and which draws from a student body now averaging 650 seventy-five to a hundred students each year.

Though she was quite convincing as "Every Girl" in a burlesque morality play staged by the faculty some years ago, Dr. Whiteside has probably never had a serious dramatic role; but none the less she has directed thirty-seven performances of Greek drama, given in Greek, at Randolph-Macon since 1909. The list includes virtually all the extant Greek tragedies and a few of the comedies, some of the plays having been presented more than once. Scholars who come from near and far to attend these productions comment not only on the mastery of the Greek shown by the students but also on the feeling with which the parts are interpreted.

It was not Miss Whiteside's idea, however, to become an impresario for young women undergraduates as interpreters of ancient tragedy, or comedy either for that matter; in fact, she was quite appalled at the prospect. But in 1909 she had inspired such enthusiasm in her exceedingly enterprising third-year Greek class that nothing would satisfy them but that they should "give a Greek play." They so wrought upon her that she consented to their petitioning the faculty, as was then required, for permission to present such a play. The faculty, no doubt impressed by the students' zeal, gave approval to the undertaking. The girls immediately set to work in good earnest, one who was proficient in music composing the setting for the choral odes, and the others industriously studying their parts. The teacher devoted her days to problems of directing. She cast the roles as best she could with the relatively small number of Greek students she then had, made diligent studies of ancient Greek vase-paintings in order to get the costumes right, spent many of her own and her friends' weary hours in dyeing fabrics for desired color tones, and prayed that the young ladies would learn and render their lines well enough to meet the standards of the various Greek professors who were to be in the audience.

The play came off on March 13, 1909 with signal success. The *Alcestis* of Euripides was the drama chosen, and every character was brought to life on the small and unprepossessing stage in the "old chapel," which was the only auditorium the college then had. When the *Antigone* of Sophocles was presented with equal success the next year, the "Greek play" entered the permanent traditions and customs of the college. In later years the performances were given

out of doors and since 1917 have taken place in a natural amphitheatre called "The Dell," where in 1938 a stone stage, proportioned after that of the ancient theatre at Epidaurus, was constructed through the efforts of the Alumnae Association in tribute to Dr. Whiteside. When the play is driven inside by rain, it is presented in the spacious auditorium that has superseded the earlier one and has an adequate stage; but the weather has to be inclement indeed to make Miss Whiteside consent to an indoor performance, so wedded is she to The Dell with its pine-clad slopes and its beautiful willows forming the background to the stage.

It has become a mark of distinction among the students "to be in the Greek play." This, together with the beauty of the language, the appeal of Greek literature, and the value of Greek philosophy, has kept the departmental enrollment high; but it might be that if anyone should take a poll of the Greek students a good many of them would say that they had chosen the subject because "Miss Mabel," as they affectionately call her, taught it. Building steadily on the foundation so well laid at the Webb School in Bell Buckle, Miss Mabel has succeeded in synthesizing the values of ancient culture and in making them vital for the young women of today.

For some forty-five years Miss Whiteside has marched through the college halls, her unrevealing countenance seldom relaxing into a smile and her eyes ever fixed on some apparently distant object. Her class sessions are neither finished lectures nor brilliant Socratic dialogues, but no one wishes to miss them. Indeed, recognizing absent-mindedness as a foible of hers, Miss Whiteside always makes an agreement with her students that if she does not come to class on time they are to look her up. They do or else, if the class happens to be Beginning Greek, they patiently start writing paradigms on the board. For these efforts they will probably receive no expressed acknowledgment, but they know their Miss Mabel and they love her.

A speech teacher at the University of Chicago once told her that the Lord had wasted a fine voice on her. Perhaps so, for she makes no attempt at eloquence, but she does not need to. Her students and associates would rather hear her any day than to hear a "good speaker;" for they know they can count on her for something worth listening to with careful attention, and what she says is likely to stick with them better than well-rounded periods smoothly delivered. A stranger meeting her for the

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Murder in the Bath

Reflections on the Death of Agamemnon

THE STANDARD account of Agamemnon's murder, given in the first play of the *Oresteia*, is unknown to Homer. In *Od.* 1.35-43 Athena states quite simply that Aegisthus had overstepped the bounds of fate, had killed Agamemnon and married his wife, despite the warning of Hermes that vengeance would come at the hands of Orestes. However, in 3.255-275 Nestor tells us that Aegisthus had a difficult time to seduce Clytemnestra and to persuade her to assent to Agamemnon's murder. The chief obstacle was a minstrel whom Agamemnon had placed in charge of his wife, but at length Aegisthus succeeded in kidnapping him and carrying him off to die upon a desert island. Clytemnestra agreed to this only "when the fatal decree of the gods bound her to reduce her to subjection."¹

Further details are reported by Menelaus in 4.512-537: Agamemnon in his ship was about to reach Malea when a storm arose, driving him to the territory where Aegisthus was now prince in place of Thyestes. However, the wind shifted, and Agamemnon was able to step ashore in his own land. A confusion in the story will be noted here, one which has exercised the ingenuity of many commentators. Why was Agamemnon sailing toward Malea? The text has been tampered with.² In the whole, the opinion of Nilsson must stand: "The Spartans tried to appropriate Agamemnon for themselves as the prototype of their hegemony in the Peloponnese,"³ and we have here some evidence of that attempt. However, "all attempts to sever Agamemnon from Mycenae are in vain."

Now Aegisthus had posted a sentinel on the coast of the Argolid who after a year's vigilance was able at long last to herald the arrival of Agamemnon. Thus forewarned, Aegisthus was able to contrive the murder. Agamemnon and his suite were invited to sup at the

house of Aegisthus, and there twenty hired assassins fell upon "the shepherd of the people." In a general melee everyone there was killed, Aegisthus alone emerging from the room alive. He had slain Agamemnon "as one would kill an ox at the manger"⁴ — a significant phrase.

Finally, in *Od.* 11.385-439 Agamemnon himself, or rather his ghost, gives an account of the murder. He was indeed, he says, slain like an ox at the stall. Aegisthus did it with the help of Clytemnestra. The scene was the banquet at the house of Aegisthus, who struck the fatal blow. Clytemnestra herself killed Cassandra, not Agamemnon, but it was she who had planned the whole business. Agamemnon's company perished with him, and bodies were strewn about the mixing bowl and other paraphernalia of the feast. The remarkable thing about the Homeric versions is the contradiction in the role of Clytemnestra.

Aeschylus in the *Oresteia* chose to develop the second version, adding to the Aristotelian "pity and terror" by having Agamemnon murdered in his own house and on the very day of his arrival. He developed the character of Clytemnestra to make her capable herself of the murder, and he assigned her new motives for this act — the sacrifice of Iphigenia and the concubinage of Cassandra. Her liaison with Aegisthus is reduced in emphasis, and Aegisthus now seems nothing but a weak accomplice. The watchman is posted by Clytemnestra on the roof of the palace at Argos, not by Aegisthus on the coast. The year's watch is the same. Agamemnon arrives with Cassandra shortly after the watchman has seen the fire-signal announcing the fall of Troy; after the purple carpet scene they enter the palace and are killed by Clytemnestra within. No others are killed with them, but the festive scene is

reminiscent of Aegisthus' banquet. In place of the mixing bowl there stands a bathtub!

Three times in the plays Aeschylus tells us that Agamemnon was killed while in a *droite*,⁵ and it is apparent from the context of these passages that Aeschylus understood this to mean a bathing vessel. The word seems to mean any sort of a container, originally one of wood,⁶ and it is even used to denote a bier or cradle.⁷ Gilbert Murray once suggested that the mutilated body of a Mycenaean chieftain had been found lying in a coffin (*droite*) by later peoples; hence the folktale arose that the king had been murdered in this very vessel.⁸ This is possible, although the *larnakes* of the Mycenaean age resemble only in a very superficial way the bathing-vessels of the same period!

There are two reasons, one might conjecture, for the bathtub murder, if it were not already part of a folktale. First, Aeschylus remembering the well-known Homeric custom according to which the women of the household bathed the newly-arrived hero,⁹ may have decided that this afforded an excellent opportunity of catching Agamemnon unarmed and of facilitating his murder by a woman. There would also be the pathos of hospitality and welcome turned to evil. Secondly, Aeschylus may have remembered a theme from Greek mythology, one such as we see in the following two examples. Medea procured the death of King Pelias of Iolcus by inducing the king's daughters to boil their father in a cauldron or bath, together with certain herbs which were intended to renew his youth but which in reality were poisonous; they were not the medicaments by which Medea in a similar fashion had restored the youth of Aeson, Jason's father.¹⁰ Again, the daughters of King Cocalus of Sicania drowned in the bath Minos of Crete, who had come to Camicus in pursuit of the fugitive Daedalus.¹¹ In these stories of the death of a king in a vessel of water

and at the hands of women there is a definite ritual.

It is impossible to avoid the suspicion of terminal kingship, since Frazer has abundantly proved the custom, widespread in primitive societies, of slaying ceremonially the old king, lest his failing virility impair the fertility of land, domestic animals, or of the tribe itself.¹² This is plainly seen in the myth of Pelias, who in fact died because his youth was not renewed. However, kings were killed, not only when their strength failed, but often at the end of a fixed term of years. The kings of Knossus seem to have followed the eight-year cycle, if the periodic withdrawal of Minos to the sacred cave of Mt. Ida is to be taken as the ceremonial end of the old king.¹³

Was Agamemnon, then, bound to die as soon as he returned from Troy, since he had outlived either his strength or his cycle? Aeschylus seems to have made use of these old traditions. There was a law at Sparta, according to which the ephors were required to watch the sky on a certain night of every eighth year; if they observed any meteors or comets, they were to depose one of the kings, presumably the one who had succeeded exactly eight years before.¹⁴ Hence the fire-signal awaited by the watchman! There is some difficulty in Agamemnon's ten-year absence, but perhaps he had been deposed by this method prior to his return to Argos, the time when Aegisthus first openly consorted with Clytemnestra. Aeschylus says nothing of the fate of Agamemnon's regent-minstrel, whose death may have marked the proper end of the cycle. Was Iphigenia a substitute for her father at the close of the previous regal period?¹⁵

In discussing the Minotaur legend, Frazer speaks of the "mythical marriage of the sun and moon, which was acted as a solemn rite by the king and queen of Knossus, wearing the mask of a bull and cow respectively."¹⁶ Much of the Minoan religion was transferred to the Argolid, the Great Goddess her-

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self becoming ox-eyed Hera. The prophetic ravings of Cassandra are quite revealing: "Keep the bull from the cow (i.e. Agamemnon from Clytemnestra)! Trapping him in her robes, she strikes him with her long-horned cunning! He falls in his tub of water! I tell you the fatal result of a cleverly murderous washing-basin!"¹⁷ It is strange that neither Frazer nor Cook mention Agamemnon among their examples of the Bull-King.

Just as Minos is the incarnate bull-god (Zeus) and king, so is Agamemnon. The cow-goddess or queen (Io, Europa, Pasiphae, etc.) must be equated with Clytemnestra.¹⁸ But the murder of the king should be carried out by young women; Pasiphae does not slay Minos, nor does Clytemnestra kill Agamemnon in the Homeric versions. These girls who slay the king represent the will of the goddess and queen and are probably Minoan priestesses such as we see on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus:¹⁹ before them lies the dying bull, his blood flowing into a pail (*sphageion*). Was not Agamemnon "cut down like an ox"? The weapon is not mentioned in the *Odyssey*, but in the *Oresteia* there are obscure and highly rhetorical references to several weapons,²⁰ from which it would seem that Agamemnon was struck first with an axe, thereafter with a double-edged sword or dagger; the latter was presumably used to cause the necessary flow of blood from the throat. On the analogy of the *Bouphonia* at Athens we might have expected the "guilty" axe, perhaps the Minoan axe with double blade.²¹ Furthermore, one who represents Zeus ought to be struck with the axe, for Hephaestus uses one when officiating at the birth of Athena.²² Aeschylus also represents Clytemnestra as entangling Agamemnon in a "costly web"²³ before she struck him, and in view of her sinister speech on the store of purple garments within the house,²⁴ it would seem that she made use of one of these. The Hagia Triada bull is bound with purple bands. It would seem that the

purple carpet over which Agamemnon so reluctantly walked thus hints at a dread ceremony,²⁵ although Aeschylus employs it simply as a dramatic example of *hybris*.

It is apparent, then, that the silver *droite* was not properly a bath at all, but rather a *sphageion* or *amnion*, a bowl for catching the blood of the victim.²⁶ It would seem to make no great difference whether the bull was slain in or over such a container. What was the purpose of the Minoan lustral basins? There were three reasons for collecting the precious blood. First, it was the blood of a dying god (cf. the *taurobolium*), one slain under the aspect of his familiar or totem, and so contained magic properties to be gained by communion. Clytemnestra boasts of the blood on her person.²⁷ Secondly, as Frazer says, "It is a common rule that royal blood may not be shed upon the earth,"²⁸ and he gives an abundance of examples of royal persons slain in cauldrons or upon blankets or the like. (Again he fails to note the case of Agamemnon.) "The general explanation of the reluctance to shed blood on the ground is probably to be found in the belief that the soul is in the blood and that therefore any ground on which it may fall becomes taboo and sacred."²⁹

The third reason is that blood collected in an *amnion* was often used in chthonic rites; as Cook says, this "was believed to ensure the continued vitality of resurrection of the dead."³⁰ It is by drinking blood, of course, that the "strengthless dead" of the *Odyssey* regain for a short time their wits.³¹ The most natural explanation of the scenes on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus lies in Cook's suggestion of "the magic rites of revival performance" before the tomb of a dead prince. However, the afterthought occurs to Cook that the dead man "was himself regarded as an incarnation of the sky-god. Was not Zeus said to have perished as a prince in Crete? On this showing the Cretan prince was one of many

who in their time played the part of Dionysus or Zagreus, the reborn Zeus.³² Cook was nearer to the truth than he knew, for we are reminded at once of that mysterious and much-debated deity, Zeus-Agamemnon!³³

The historicity of our Agamemnon is doubtful, but there seems no reason why a Mycenaean chieftain of that name might not have perished in an ambush laid by an aspirant to the throne who was also force a suitor for the hand of the queen. According to the principles of *Mutterrecht*, the right to the throne is bestowed by marriage to the queen.³⁴ This was often the case in Anatolia and Egypt, and it was probably the case in Crete. It seems to have been imitated to some extent in the Helladic principalities. At Thebes Oedipus became king by marriage to his own mother, and presumably Creon would have lost the throne once more had Antigone married. Later ages did not understand this practise, and the position of Oedipus had to be explained by a development of myth. So, too, with Clytemnestra; did she marry Aegisthus willingly or not? The poet of the *Odyssey* did not understand her obligations any more than he understood those of Penelope, for he lived in a patriarchal age, and he judged her by northern mores. So it was that he devised two explanations but handled the second with greater power.

Aeschylus, of course, in taking the story from the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, found that it required considerable readjustment in order to express his philosophical and psychological probings and to conform with his notions of dramatic art. Therefore he made use, consciously or not, of certain old traditions, and in some ways he came closer to the Mycenaean world than did Homer himself! Such was the origin of Agamemnon's murder in the bath.

T. T. DUKE

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NOTES

1 Od. 3.269.

2 The Schol. ad Od. 3.272 tries to solve the difficulty by asserting that Thyestes lived on Cythera! See W. W. Merry, *Homer's Odyssey*, I, 183 for emendations of Nitsch and Bothe.

3 M. P. Nilsson, *Mycenaeans. Origin of Gr. Mythol.* 70. Nilsson (72) thinks the mention of Malea in Od. 4.514 a "minstrel's error" influenced by 3.287, and that 4.519-520 "were added later to smooth over the discrepancy." The Spartans and their literary partisans then developed the tradition reflected in Pind. *Pyth.* 11.24 and 47 ff., Nem. 11.44; Hdt. 7.159; Stesich. in Schol. Eurip. *Orest.* 46. We may reject with Nilsson the theory of Gilbert Murray, *Rise of the Gr. Epic*, 210, that Agamemnon and Menelaus represent the dual kings of Sparta. Agamemnon was "lord over all Argos and many islands" (II. 2.108), and he was king at Sparta only because Menelaus was his vassal there, as Diomedes was his tenant at the city of Argos itself (ibid. 2.559-567). Agamemnon held Mycenae personally (ibid. 569-580). J. B. Bury, *Hist. Greece* (Mod. Libr.), 336 believes that Aeschylus deliberately transferred Agamemnon from Mycenae to Argos in order to compliment the Argives on their destruction of Mycenae and their reception into the Athenian alliance. As for the tradition that Agamemnon died at Amyclae (Pind. *Pyth.* 11.48-49; see also Paus. 3.19.5), this may be a consequence of the tomb of Hyacinth located there (Paus. 3.19.3); the finding of the sceptre or spear at Chaeronia (Paus. 9.40.11) indicates nothing but the chance discovery in later times of the grave of some unknown Mycenaean chieftain (Nilsson, op. cit. 47).

4 Od. 4.535.

5 Ag. 1540; Ch. 999 (985); Eu. 633.

6 E. Boissacq, *Dict. Etymol.* 2, p. 200.

7 Alex. Aetol. 16; Parthen. Fr. 45 Martini; but cf. Nicander, *Alexiph.* 462 and *Lycophr.* 1108.

8 Murray, op. cit. 209. A coffin like a bathtub is seen in Blegen, *Prosymna* II, 17, fig. 101.

9 Od. 3.464-465; 4.252; 5.264; 8.454; 10.360-363; 10.449-450; 17.88; 19.386-391. In view of this custom, it is strange that Odysseus should have been ashamed to appear naked before Nausicaa (ibid. 6.218-222)! See Athen. 1.10e.

10 Death of Pelias: Apollod. 1.9.27; Diod. 4.50-52; Eurip. *Med.* 486; Hyg. *Fab.* 24; Ov. *Met.* 7.297-356; Paus. 8.11.1-2; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.443; Pherecydes in Schol. Pind. loc. cit.; Schol. ad *Lycophr.* 175. The *Rizotomoi* of Sophocles and the *Peliades* of Euripides are both lost. See the vase in Baumeister, *Denkmäler* II, fig. 1394. Medea's operation on Aeson: Argument. ad Eurip. *Med.*; Schol. ad Aristoph. *Equit.* 1321 (both based on *Nostoi*); Ov. *Met.* 7.237-293. The Schol. ad Aristoph. loc. cit. says that Medea also performed this on Jason!

11 Death of Minos: Apollod. *Epit.* 1.13-15; Diod. 4.79; Hdt. 7.170; Hyg. *Fab.* 44; Ov. *Ibis* 29; Paus. 7.4.5; Schol. ad *II.* 2.145; Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4.95; Zenob. 4.92. The *Minos* of Sophocles is lost. The tomb of Zeus in Crete (Callimach. *Hymn. Zeus* 9 ff.; Diod. 3.61; Lucian *Philops.* 3, *Jupp. Trag.* 45, *Philopat.* 10; Porph. *Vit. Pythag.* 17; Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 3.21.53; Pomp. *Mela* 2.7.112; Minuc. *Felix Octav.* 21; Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 1.11) is that of a Minos (Schol. ad Callimach. loc. cit.). Other examples of real or simulated death in vessel of hot water: Demos in Aristoph. *Equit.* 1321 ff. (fortunately he emerges rejuvenated); Dionysus-Zagreus in Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 2.18.1 ff. and Schol. ad *Lycophr.* 208; Pelops in Pind. *Ol.* 1.40 ff.; children of Thyestes in Aul, Gell. 13.2 and Hyg. *Fab.* 86. See Rose, *Handb. Gr. Mythol.* 151 for remarks on similar death of Melicertes. See A. B. Cook's discussion of the "Cauldron of Apotheosis" in *Zeus* II, 210-21; Cook thinks that the boiling of the aged or dead liberated the entangled soul. During and after the Trojan War this purpose was accomplished

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by the use of the funeral-pyre; note the case of Patroclus in *Il.* 23.75-76. See G. Mylonas, "Homeric and Mycenaean Burial Customs" in *AJA* 52 (1948), 51-81. See also Frazer, "Purification by Fire" in *The Golden Bough* V, 179-81. However this may be (and cf. *Hdt.* 1.216 on cannibalism of the Massagetae), kings such as Pelias, Aeson, Minos and Agamemnon were placed in large vessels so that there might be a bath of divine blood available for ritual purposes. The story in *Diod.* 4.50 that Pelias compelled Aeson to die by drinking ox-blood means that the dying king and god was immersed in his own blood. Bleeding to death in a bath was a favourite Roman method of suicide, e.g. *Tac.* *Ann.* 15.64; 15.69; 16.11, etc. What was the origin of this custom?

¹² Frazer, *op. cit.* IV, 9-11: "The Killing of the Divine King."

¹³ Plat. *Minos* 319d; *Leges* 624b, 630d, 632d, *Strab.* 476, 482, 762; *Od.* 19.178 ff: "Minos of nine seasons was ruling as the familiar friend of great Zeus." Cf. *Od.* 11.311. Murray, *op. cit.* 137 notes a coin of Magnesia (B.M. *Ionia* 19.9) depicting a bull (Minos?) about to enter the sacred cave. At the Dipoleia the bull had to approach the altar of his own free will; thus Agamemnon has to be enticed to walk over the purple carpet (*Ag.* 908-94).

¹⁴ Plut. *Agis* 11. The phrase *di' ennead eton* signifies every eight years, since the Greeks and Romans used the inclusive method of counting. Frazer regards the octennial tenure as astronomical in origin: the chief problem of ancient calendar-makers was the reconciliation of the lunar month with the solar year; eight of the latter very nearly approximated the desired period (*op. cit.* IV, 69). Murray thinks that *ennead* means nine half-years (*op. cit.* 136)!

¹⁵ Homer does not mention Iphigenia or her death (but cf. *Il.* 9.145); the story is from the *Cypria*. If the Trojan War lasted ten years (*Il.* 2.303-329), then the actual time was nine consecutive years from the assembly at Aulis to the fall of Troy. If Agamemnon had purchased from the goddess an additional eight years by the death of Iphigenia as surrogate, then this time expired one year before Troy was taken. At this point Aegisthus acted, killing Agamemnon's regent and living openly with Clytemnestra. Now the *Odyssey* says (3.304-305) that Aegisthus ruled for seven years and in the eighth was slain by Orestes, but Homer has forgotten the year of waiting until the war ended and Agamemnon promptly returned. Thus Aegisthus ruled nine Greek years, our necessary eight! The child-murders connected with the House of Atreus probably had something to do with the periodic renewal of the royal power. Frazer (*op. cit.* IV, 71) thinks the life of the Minotaur (Minos himself) was thus renewed octennially by the deaths in the labyrinth of youths and maidens (Plut. *Thes.* 15). There would be no need of these victims when the Bull-King himself or an aspirant for his position might be slain: Theseus in one story (Plut. *op. cit.* 19) slew Taurus (!), a rival of Minos and lover of Pasiphae, whereupon Minos sent safely home all the Athenian youth and maidens. The murder by Aegisthus of the two sons of Agamemnon and Cassandra (Paus. 2.16.5) was, of course, a private rather than a ritual act.

¹⁶ Frazer, *op. cit.* 71. The idea of the masks is argued from the well-known Egyptian custom of so mimicking the gods. See *Diod.* 1.62.4; *Cook*, *op. cit.* I, 491.

¹⁷ *Ag.* 1125-1129. See *Cook*, *op. cit.* III, 605-655. "Zeus as an Ox" Note the enigmatic remark of the watchman (*Ag.* 36-37), "This matter of the Great Bull was right on the tip of my tongue, but I had better keep quiet." He is, of course, watching for the fall of the king's star. Hesiod, by the way, thinks that the best ox will be about eight years old (*Works and Days* 436 ff.)!

¹⁸ Does Helen at Sparta play the Great God-

dess as Clytemnestra does at Mycenae? Not exactly. In Helen we have the junior form of the goddess (Dictynna, Britomartis, Ariadne, Persephone, etc.). While Io and Pasiphae show both bovine and lunar aspects, Helen (Helen from *selene*) shows only the latter. She is developed as a marriage-kore, and her *eidolon*, periodically carried off in a vegetation ceremony (cf. *Stesich.* in *Diehl*, *Anth. Lyri. Graec.* II, 43, no. 11; *Plat. Rep.* 586c; *Eurip. Helen* *passim*, *Hdt.* 2.112-113), must have been formally wed to the kings of Sparta (cf. Pygmalion and Galatea-Aphrodite) in order to confirm their tenure. Cf. the *hieros gamos* at the Tonaea of Samos. Hera shows both forms of mother and maid (before and after her bath in the spring *Canathus*, *Paus.* 2.38.2), while in the case of Demeter and Persephone we have the goddess split apart.

¹⁹ Reproductions in *Evans, Palace of Minos* IV, 1, fig. 27, p. 43 and in *Cook*, *op. cit.* II, plate 27; see *Cook's* discussion (II, 516-524). At one end of the sarcophagus the queen is represented, at the other the Great Goddess; they are to be thought of on ceremonial occasions as the same person.

²⁰ *Ag.* 1149; 1495; 1520; 1529-1530; *Ch.* 1011. But a bull is normally struck with an axe before having its throat cut; so, for example, the heifer is treated by Nestor in his sacrifice to Athena (*Od.* 3.430-463). For the *amnion* in this passage see note 26. Murray, *op. cit.* 66, thinks that Nestor's women raised a joyful or euphemistic cry (cf. *Eurip. Med.* 1170-1177), but surely this is the ancient cry of lamentation for the dead god, echoed in the wail of the chorus for the dead Agamemnon. Nestor's victim is female because dedicated to a goddess. But did Clytemnestra strike Agamemnon first with an axe? *Juv.* 6.657-658 so reports, and in *Ch.* 889-890 Clytemnestra calls for the axe, her peculiar weapon. The cry of lamentation at the slaying of the bull recalls the famous hypothesis of Reinach (*Cultes, Mythes et Religion* III, 1-15) concerning *Plut. De Defect. Orac.* 17, 419b, but the suggestion of *Cook* (*op. cit.* II, pp. 347-349) is much more plausible: "Great Pan is dead" becomes "Great Zan (Minos or the Cretan Zeus) is dead!" See *Anth. Pal.* 7.746.

²¹ For the Bousphora (Dipoleia) see *Porph. De Abstin.* 2.10; 2.29 ff and *Paus.* 1.24.4; 1.28.10. The maidens present are the *hydrophoroi* (cf. the *arrophoroi*, *hersephoroi*, rain-makers); it is not they who strike the fatal blow, but the *bousphorus*. This role should then be played by Aegisthus, as in the Homeric versions!

²² As in the eastern pediment of the Parthenon; see *Cook*, *op. cit.* III, 656-661, "Zeus Struck with the Double Axe." Agamemnon had played the role of Zeus, "hewing down Troy with the axe of justice-bearing Zeus" (*Ag.* 525-526).

²³ *Ag.* 1383.

²⁴ *Ag.* 958-965. In the *Choephoroi* Orestes displays this cloth (why should it have been preserved?) as proof of Clytemnestra's guilt. It was not wholly purple, according to *Ch.* 1013. Despite the various terms which Orestes applies to this cloth (*ibid.* 998-1000), the form or design is not clear. In *Ag.* 1010 it is a *pharos*, in 1015 a *hyphasma* as in *Eurip. Orest.* 25-26. It would seem, then, to be an article of wear, perhaps the robe of the goddess herself. In *Cook*, *op. cit.* II, 623, figs. 523 and 524, there are illustrations of a lentoid steatite from Knossus and a clay sealing from Kato Zakro; on both of them we see a hurrying Minoan priestess carrying an empty dress or skirt in one hand, the double axe in the other!

²⁵ It is the sight of this colour which causes Agamemnon to cry out, "I tell you to honour me as a man, not as a god!" (*Ag.* 925). Note the red scarves worn by five of the priestesses on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus.

²⁶ Eustathius (in *Od.* 1476, 38 ff.) citing as his authorities Porsilus and Apollodorus says that the *amnion* of *Od.* 3.444 is a Cretan word de-

rived from *haima*. See Boissacq, *op. cit.* 54.
 27 *Ag.* 1388-1392. Clytemnestra reveals her terrible identity as goddess in 1498-1504.

28 Frazer, *op. cit.* III, 241.
 29 *Ibid.* 247-8. Professor Clyde Murley has suggested to me *Genesis* 4:10: "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground."

30 Cook, *op. cit.* II, 522.

31 *Od.* 11.23-43.

32 Cook, *loc. cit.*

33 The difficulty lies in the late date of the testimonia (Lycophr. *Alex.* 335, 1124, 1369 and Scholia; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* pp. 11 and 18; Athenag. *Suppl. pro Christ.* 1). Nilsson (*op. cit.* 46-7) denies the existence of such a god, and Farnell (*Hero Cults*, 321f and note 55) is doubtful. Actually, Lycophron and the late writers were quite correct in assuming that Agamemnon was identified with Zeus upon certain important occasions, and the line between hero and god is often quite tenuous.

34 Euripides seems to have grasped the point; in *Iph. Aul.* 1150 he makes Tantalus the first husband of Clytemnestra and asserts that he was killed by Agamemnon!

XENOPHON

(from page 321)

moral classicism into our thought and manners to witness its eventual consequences in the field of our political endeavors.

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GRECIAN

(from page 324)

first time might think that she has no personal magnetism, but his offhand opinion would be wrong. No doubt the Lord knew what he was doing when he overlaid her qualities with an almost impenetrable reserve. It has enabled her to maintain within herself a fund of strength and wisdom that has never failed her students or her other friends. It has enabled her to understand and communicate that philosophic restraint usually regarded as characteristic of Greek thought—an attribute greatly needed in our harassed world of today.

ROBERTA D. CORNELIUS
Lynchburg, Virginia

LATIN vs. ECONOMICS

(Cf. p. 308)

SENATOR SOAPER: . . . A Yale economics professor's class experiments with the stock market and loses, while a Chicago Latin teacher leaves a \$600,000 estate from shrewd investing. And still there are those who sneer at the classics.

Chicago Daily News (2/27/54)

A Cruise of GREECE, THE GREEK ISLANDS, ASIA MINOR AND ISTANBUL

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Pliny: *Natural History*. Vol. VI. *Libri XX-XXXIII*. By W. H. S. JONES. (Loeb Classical Library, 392.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951. Pp. xxv, 532. \$3.00.

— Vol. IX. *Libri XXXIII-XXXV*. By H. RACKHAM. (Ibid., 394.) *Id. loc. et imp.*, 1952. Pp. vii, 421. \$3.00.

AFTER PUBLISHING Volumes I-IV of the Loeb Pliny, virtually completing Vol. V, and making a translation of Vol. IX, together with a few footnotes, Prof. H. Rackham met Apelles' fate: "Invidit mors, peracta parte." His mantle has fallen upon the capable shoulders of Prof. W. H. S. Jones, who has translated and edited Vol. VI.

Books 20-23, which have to do with trees, flowers, grains, fruits, and herbs, devote special attention to their medicinal properties and, together with Books 24-27, might be called a Roman herbal or pharmacopeia. We would have a far higher opinion of Roman medicine if Celsus' work were the only extant record of it, but I became more charitable toward Roman popular medicine after janitors, bus drivers, clerks, and others prescribed remedies for me during a long siege of boils. Nor do the amulets and phylacteries that physicians find suspended from the necks of entering college students betoken emancipation from age-old fancies. One marvels that man has survived the application of his ancient remedies. The survival of the Romans for centuries after Pliny's day suggests that most of them were blissfully unaware of his panaceas.

The brief introduction to Vol. VI (vii-xxxiv) contains material discriminately selected and admirably presented. Especially valuable is the general information under the rubrics "Diseases of Italy, and Their Names in Pliny," "Remedies and Drugs," "The Botany of Pliny," and "Note on the Magi."

An exacting task in the preparation of Vol. VI was the examination of Greek authorities on botany and medicine, especially Theophrastus on botany. As another reviewer says of Pliny, "the mistakes which he is found making in the use of his Greek sources . . . are such that, when the text is nonsense, it may nevertheless be what he wrote." The critical examination of the annotated editions of Pliny and of

the Mayhoff readings in the Teubner edition was also a laborious undertaking.

An interesting article in connection with Pliny's remarks on silphium (22.100) is that by W. R. Philipson, "Silphium: A Classical Example of Controlled Exploitation," *The Illustrated London News*, 125 (Oct. 8, 1949), 542. He states that it once formed the source of wealth of a prosperous Greek colony in Cyrenaica, but was overexploited and "is supposed to have become extinct at about the time of Christ." His enlargement of a Greek coin showing the plant indicates that it was a member of the Umbelliferae, "and no doubt it was nearly related to *Ferula foetida*." Jones says (364) that silphium was probably *Ferula tingitana* and *Ferula marmarica* (which still exists in North Africa).

It has been suggested, somewhat casually, that the "serula Campana" of 21.53 is the yellow-flowered variety of trefoil.¹

In connection with N. Jasny's *The Wheats of Classical Antiquity* (referred to on p. 34) one might mention H. E. Jacob's *Six Thousand Years of Bread*.²

The translation of Vol. VI is in simple, natural, readable English. It may not be as engaging as Philemon Holland's translation, but we are now more interested in penetrating Pliny's meaning. This is a scholar's Pliny. So far as space permits, the volume incorporates the latest results of Plinian research. We look forward with assurance to the completion of the Loeb Pliny by Professor Jones.

Volume IX (Books 33-35) takes up the subjects of metals, ores, minerals, mining, and the arts. For a good deal of work on it we have to thank Prof. E. H. Warmington, who prepared the Latin text, together with the critical notes, and added many footnotes to the translation as well as the marginalia.

Book 35 is one of the best understood in Pliny, for a great many persons have studied it because it contains Pliny's contribution to the history of art. A competent critic, Prof. T. B. L. Webster, has checked the sections on Greek art in the present translation.

Renaissance authors repeatedly quoted Pliny's passage about the "praecipua venustas" of Apelles (35.79), and Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, line 155, harks back to it in the phrase "a grace beyond the reach of art."³

In 35.58 the editor rejected the reading "lucida veste" in favor of "tralucida veste" in the statement that Polygnotus "primus mulieres tralucida veste pinxit." Miss Lawler has clearly shown that "lucida veste" is the better reading and that it means "in bright, shining garments."⁴

To me the substitution of modern names such as Sulmona and Reggio for Sulmo and Rhegium seems anachronistic. It led to trouble in 33.106, where the Latinless reader may well wonder how the adjective in "argyritis Puteolana" can possibly be derived from "Pozzuoli."

The translation of common names such as *pentathli* and *pancratiastes* (34.57) as if they were formal titles, that is, by "Competitors of the Five Bouts" and "All-round Fighters," seems injudicious. And I hope that "Rostra" means more to everybody than "Beaked Platform" does (34.22, 93).

In 34.24 Pliny errs in saying that it was Gnaeus Octavius who drew a circle about King Antiochus IV and compelled him to reach a definite decision about something before stepping out of it. As a note informs us, the Roman was C. Popillius Laenas; but the reader should not be left in the dark about the passages on which the correction is based. They are Livy 45.12.4-5 and Polybius 29.27.1-5.

There should be a Supreme Court of Classical Solons to make rulings upon the spelling of proper names. In the translation we find both Pheidias and Phidias, both Polycleitus and Polyclitus; in the Index of Artists the shorter forms of these names are used. The situation is reversed with Argius (34.50) and Argeius (Index). The misprints in "Antogonus," "Isogonus," and "Aragentum" in the indexes seem rather glaring.⁵

The name of Spurius Carvilius (34.43) is missing from the Index of Artists. In view of the notes on pages 138, 179, and 256 and the mention of the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton in the text, Antenor should have been listed in this index.

As a folklorist who includes Pliny among his "kinsmen of the shelf," I am grateful for the help this excellent translation of Vol. IX affords me. It provides me with a workmanlike edition of three books in convenient form. Book 35 will be an authoritative aid for those who lecture and write on the history of art.⁶

Vol. I of the Loeb Pliny appeared in 1938. In view of the difficulties the text of the *Natural History* raises, aside from its enigmatic Latin, it is reassuring rather than

disturbing that only seven volumes have been published to date.

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NOTES

¹ A. S. F. Gow, in *The Classical Quarterly*, 34 (1940), 115-116.

² Translation by Richard and Clara Winston.

³ See S. H. Monk, "A Grace beyond the Reach of Art," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 5 (1944), 131-50.

⁴ Lillian B. Lawler, "Lucida Veste," *TAPA*, 63 (1938), 423-38.

⁵ For other misprints see p. 119, n. 5, of the review mentioned in the next note.

⁶ For a good review of Volumes V, VI, and IX of the Loeb Pliny see R. T. Brucere, *Classical Philology*, 48 (1953), 118-20.

The Development of Aristotle Illustrated From the Earliest Books of the Physics.
By H. E. RUNNER. Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1951. Pp. 157; chart I.

THIS INAUGURAL thesis, submitted at the Free University of Amsterdam, is another evidence that the weakest proof is the *argumentum e dissertatione*. Runner's purpose is to divide the Physics chronologically, assigning the several books to various phases in the development of Aristotle. He works in the tradition of Jaeger (W. Jaeger, *Aristotles*, Berlin, 1923. Eng. trans., Oxford, 1934). Nuyens (F. J. C. J. Nuyens, *L'Evolution de la Psychologie d'Aristote*, Louvain, 1948), and Vollenhoven (D. H. Th. Vollenhoven, *Geschiedenis der Wijsbegeerte*, I, Franeker, 1950). On the basis of lines of investigation already laid down he concludes that Book VII belongs to a period of A. in which he can be called a Platonist, I & II to the earliest non-Platonic years, V & VI to almost as early a period, and III & VIII to a much later period of independence. Book IV he reserves for later investigation.

The work is divided into three parts: a spirited and optimistic introduction of 51 pages, bearing the heavy impress of the foregone conclusion, in which he traces the history of Aristotelian scholarship since Jaeger's *Aristotle*; an outline of the several books of the Physics as they are discussed, and, in alternation with the outline, the original part of the work, i.e., the conclusions and the evidence for them. Two objections can be registered against this procedure: the introduction is overlong and injudiciously one-sided; and the outline does not subserve the argument in any visible fashion, hence is a waste of space.

The method of demonstration depends on the assumption that A. passed through a series of changes of belief in regard to the

nature of the cosmos and its law. The method itself consists of finding passages in the *Physics* which reflect the language (overtones) or hint at the conceptions supposed to have been those of A. at one time or another. In some cases, the conceptions are supposed to be stated outright. Let it be noticed that the framework of development is here taken as a *datum*, not a *demonstrandum*, and stems from Vollenhoven.

In carrying out this assignment R. exhibits considerable subtlety in finding any remotest traces of what he is looking for. Using his method, I have been unable to find any additional passage which might be indicative of an early dating for VII. He regularly and conscientiously discusses variant readings which might bear on his interpretations. He has dropped Jaeger's unlikely thesis that A. abandoned speculation in his later years. He does not have the irritating habit of Jaeger and Ross of arguing from what is "psychologically probable." (This often means "logically probable", as in Ross, *Aristotle Selections*, xv. There is no sign of modern, non-rational psychology in their arguments.) A number of the passages selected are very plausibly argued and might have been pressed home to good effect. Such are the mention of A.'s restriction of his idealism to mathematics on 120-1, his discussion (166) of the intellectual process in VII, in which the passive role of the *nous* is emphasized and the particular is known from the universal (247b6-7). (This passage may be an interpolation, since the rest of the book is silent about the microcosm.) He argues well (76-77) against the reading of Simplicius in 242b71-72 (read 243a1-2) of *me kinoumenon* on the ground that the fact of a first mover is being established, not the nature of that first mover, as Simplicius seems to believe. The indication of the diminished role of the *nous* in VI (146-7) seems to promise well, but could be developed more fully. The argument that VI is subsequent to and closely related to V stands up very well (147). R. notices a parallel between 244b5b-6 and *Theaet.* 182A, in both of which passages the *poioites* seems to be used in the sense of "being" (74). This seems to me to be well taken. Moreover, he could have commented on the more usual use of *poioites* to denote characteristics of being other than the substrate in sharp contrast to the passage in 244. Admittedly the text here is problematic, and inconsistency of diction is not decisive.

So much for the credit side. The objections to the method are long established and go back at least as far as H. Cherniss' unprecedentedly long review of Jaeger (*AJP* 56 [1935] 261-71). One such fundamental objection is: why must there be one criterion for judging the development of A. rather than concurrent or even isolated changes of viewpoint? Again, why must all contradictions in a writer's legacy be resolved? No doubt the assumption of a single criterion can produce a satisfactory, smooth chronology; but will it be true? And if a single factor be assumed, why this or that particular one? The hidden assumption seems to be that the mind is at any given stage in an orderly marshalling of doctrines, rather than in a constant struggle to catch up with its new impressions and partial expressions. And it is no compliment to A. that his life must be conceived as a series of stages of removal from Plato's thought.

The bibliography is surprisingly small, and very little attention is devoted to what has been written by those opposed to the fundamental method. A. Mansion (*Introduction à la Physique Aristotélicienne*, Louvain, 1946) and Cherniss, for example. The latter offered in his review of Jaeger a number of passages in the *Physics* which were critical of Platonic matter and being (266), but no notice seems to have been taken of them, either to explore their significance for R.'s thesis or to refute them. On pages 64 and 65, in refuting Jaeger's contention that 249b19-26 ("being is number") shows that A. is using a Platonic concept, hence VII is Platonic and early in date, R. constructs a solid refutation of his own but fails to use Cherniss' argument (269) to show that Jaeger is mistaken.

But even if the method of shreds and patches is allowed some validity in establishing a tendency in A.'s writings, many of the passages cited do not satisfy the needs of argument. To wit:

P. 70, n.30. He contrasts the use of *genos* in 243b10 with *eide* in 243a16 to show that A. has different things in mind in his discussion of aspects of motion. He is not allowing A. the privilege of looseness of diction.

P. 71. He contends that A. in 250a24-25 in remarking, "the grain is nothing except potentially in the whole" (as part of a bushel of grain making a noise as it hits the floor), is accepting monism. But A. is merely illustrating the principle that division of work force does not produce a

proportionate effect (because of the threshold of inertia, as we should now say).

P. 72. A. states in 249a22-23 that genus is not unitary but conceals variety and difference. R. maintains that this points to a diaeresis of genus into species à la Plato. But ensuing discussion leads me to understand that A. is grappling with a linguistic problem of nomenclature involving analogy. The cosmogonic overtones heard here are derived from connotations often found in *genos* and *eidos*, but the context here is surely the question of classification and sub-classification.

Pp. 73-4. R. believes that the passage 244b5b-5d, where A. states that one body may be distinguished from another because of possessing more or less of a set of characteristics, is like Anaxagoras' doctrine of "everything in everything." F. M. Cornford (*Aristotle, Physics*, London, 1934; introd. to Loeb trans.) thinks that only variation of intensity in a limited set of characteristics is indicated (Introd. xxxiii-xxxv), correctly, I believe.

Pp. 75-6. R. argues that A. in 243a32-33 (read 243a3-4) does not use final cause but employs impetus, plausibly since to *proton kinoun* has cosmological overtones, but the illustrations are everyday terrestrial observations; and the argument is weakened by that fact.

P. 101. R. considers it possible that A. is thinking of microcosm vis-a-vis macrocosm in 186a16-18, where he discusses the movement in the universe and that in a drop of water. But in 19-22 the comparison is declared invalid, apparently to forestall just the conclusion R. had drawn.

P. 105. A.'s mention of indivisible magnitudes in 187a4 is used as an echo from the treatise on Indivisible Lines to prove that A. still held in I to Plato's ideas. The subsequent argument shows that A. is brushing aside an argument of a school of thought to which he objects.

P. 121. A. speaks of the *arche* (underlying matter) as being in motion without mentioning outside causation. From this Runner concludes that he has shifted from *nous* as an impetus to motion (VII). But A.'s arguments against immobility (184b27-185b21) show that he merely rejects previous arguments against motion without showing his hand with regard to impetus.

Pp. 108-9. R. follows Mansion in throwing out Chaps. 4-6 in II as being of later date than the rest of II. He argues that the three chapters on chance constitute a digression from the previous discussion of

incidental causation, as they indeed do. He further points out that Chap. 7 does not continue or start from the discussion of chance. It seems to me that the connection between incidental causation and chance makes the discussion of chance a natural follow-up. In any case, Chap. 7 does not connect with the discussion on incidental causation either, as might be expected if there had been an insertion of extraneous material.

Pp. 123-4. R. contends that A.'s teleology in II is very different from that of VIII. But he does not recite the proof that the reference to *chorista eide* in 194b12 is a later insertion. This line, if genuine, is damaging to his argument.

P. 146. R. points out that *morphe* does not occur in VI. This leads him to suppose that A. is using a form of monism and not a dualism. But the book is concerned with the mathematical physics of motion and other forms of change susceptible of being dealt with in analogous fashion. Argument from silence cannot be convincing in such a case.

P. 148. R. finds it significant that *hyle* occurs in V, 226a10, without a contrasting *morphe* and argues from this fact that the book is monistic. But *hyle* could not be opposed to *morphe* here, since *hyle* is represented as a scene of action, so to say; realization of potentiality in the sense of *morphe* has little or no bearing on the discussion.

P. 148. R. detects a Heraclitean note in 228a9, remarking, "that bodies are in motion and flux is unequivocally stated." On the contrary, *phainetai* here is a refusal to make a flat statement and may represent a citation from Heraclitus. In any case, the rest of the discussion is an elaboration of the consequences of the assumption of Heraclitus, after which the whole matter is dismissed as outside the scope of the discussion proper (228a19-20).

P. 148. It is not at all apparent why, in the discussion of the term "unmoved", A. should be obliged to mention the "doctrine of an unmoved mover."

Not all the above objections go to refute the main position taken by Runner. They do show that the method of overtones can often go against the plain sense of a passage. In spite of my own personal belief that there was a shift of interest and doctrine in A., I must reluctantly give as verdict in this case: not proven.

VICTOR COUTANT
Central Michigan College of Education

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Et summis admiratio
veneratioque et
inferioribus merita
laus

These two books are not intended for consecutive reading, yet each has its own substantial utility, the one as a semi-permanent trade listing, and the other as the key to unlock the resources of a monument of scholarship.

J. A. Nairn's *Classical Hand-List*. Edited by B. H. BLACKWELL, Ltd. 3d ed. Rev. and Enlarged. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1953. Pp. viii, 164. 12s. 6d.

THIS is a compact successor to the second edition (Oxford: 1939; pp. 266). It contains "a selection of the literature of the last thirteen years" (p. iii) and is supplemented by an eight page index of modern authors. The sections on Archaeology and Art and on Numismatics have been substantially reorganized, chiefly by the creation of new subheadings, and the subsection on Roman

Britain has been recast and widely supplemented.

The section on the History of Latin literature illustrates the changes more or less typically. Thirteen items have been added; at least five older editions have been replaced by their successors; and only one work (the Cruttwell *History of Roman Literature*) has been omitted. The subsection on Latin Poetry is unchanged. The entire section occupied three pages in the second edition; but now, thanks to smaller type in double columns, fills less than two pages.

Perhaps the best news contained in the book is the notation, "reprinting", beside numerous items from the Budé series and Vols. 6-15 of *L'Année philologique*. The promise is no guarantee of fulfillment, to be sure, for subsequent events cut short a number of similar promises made in 1939;

The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt. By ROGER A. PACK. ("University of Michigan General Library Publications," No. 8). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952. Pp. x, 105. \$3.50.

IN 1923 C. H. OLDFATHER compiled a most useful list of 1167 Greek literary texts found in Egypt. The current list contains more than twice as many items, and stands as a striking testimony to the labors performed by the papyrologists in the last three decades. Professor Pack's survey, to be sure, includes also the Latin texts (a scant hundred in number), and a few texts found elsewhere than in Egypt, but these additions account for only a small part of the significant total gain. If there have been no new discoveries in that period comparable in importance to the recovery of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, the layman will yet be amazed at the wealth of new material now available. There are, for example, 14 items now listed for Aeschylus as against one in Oldfather's list, 42 for Callimachus as against 11, and for Homer the number has risen from 315 to 557!

Quite apart from the increase in the

number of entries, Pack has improved on his predecessor in several respects. The texts identified by author are now entirely separated from the adespota, a far more convenient arrangement. More important, however, is the fuller information given under each entry, including references to the critical literature as well as to the original publication. In the case of new texts brief mention is often made of points of special interest in the contents (e.g. 1288 — "Old Comedy: Fragment with Spartan words"). Unfortunately, however, there is no indication of the extent of the new texts. Does the fragment just cited contain a few lines or a whole scene? For the great majority of us, who do not have ready access to many of the primary papyrological publications, this additional piece of information would have been welcome.

It should be noted that the term "literary" is used in a broad sense, and nearly all students of antiquity will find something of interest to them in this list of documents. Professor Pack deserves our hearty thanks, and his volume should find a place in all college and university libraries.

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but perhaps there is some hope for even the works long bogged down "in progress".

A careful scrutiny inevitably brings to light errors (like the omission of the sixth fascicle of the Lundström *Columella*) and deficiencies (like the rather light representation of some recent books from certain American university presses) but since this is neither an exhaustive bibliography nor a definitive select bibliography, there should be no serious consequences. A small section listing the most significant commemorative *mélanges* would seem to be in order, especially since these books often cross the categories of subject matter set up in this listing, hence fail to be included anywhere.

In any event, this is a handy list of books which are, or ought to be, in print. It is pleasant to remember that, despite the permanent binding, it is offered by Blackwell's in part as price list, from which that lion among Oxford bookstores is often astonishingly able to fill orders. Leafing through it, and through the current catalogues of the firm, reminds this writer of the remark of a friend during a wartime Atlantic crossing, "If there are bookstores in Heaven, they'll be like Blackwell's."

Griechische Grammatik . . . Von EDUARD SCHWYZER. Bd. 3: Register. Von DEMETRIUS J. GEORGACAS. (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft begründet von Iwan von Müller . . . Abt. 2, Teil 1, Bd. 3.) München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1953. Pp. xxiii, 392. DM 32 (paper); DM 36 (cloth).

THIS IS an index on a scale appropriate to the monumental grammar to which it is appended. It contains two pages of corrections to the text of volumes I and II, four pages of supplements and corrections to Georgacas' own *Wortregister*, and nine pages of abbreviations. The word index reports words, suffixes, and sounds from Greek (about 270 pages at three columns to the page) and some twenty-nine other languages or linguistic categories (more than sixty pages). The concluding section of the volume is a subject index (fifty-two pages).

Index references are to the page with an exponent numeral from 1-8 to indicate the section of the page in question. A "Seitensteiler" is provided to facilitate the use of these references — a cardboard "tape" marked off in numbered 2½-centimeter sec-

tions. The English-speaking reader who misplaces his *Seitensteiler* can use a ruler measured in inches with fair success, although inches 5-8 (measured from the top of the *Kolumnentitel*) will fall noticeably below sections 5-8 unless he slips the mark for inch number 8 up to just below the bottom line when locating sections in the lower half of the page.

Continuous and extended use can be the only genuine test for a book of this nature. Random sampling locates very few errors. Page 195 is erroneously numbered "951" and, at least on pp. 197⁴ and 316⁷ in Vol. I, *böotisch* is abbreviated "böot." and not "bö.", the only abbreviation reported for it in either Vol. I, XXV, or Georgacas' list. It should be noted that Georgacas does not repeat any abbreviations reported in Vol. I (*ibid.*) but is merely presenting a supplementary list, with the result that all abbreviations are nowhere assembled in any one place. This is less than ideal, but provides slight annoyance by comparison with the tremendous utility of the work. Users will continue to be grateful to Georgacas.

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